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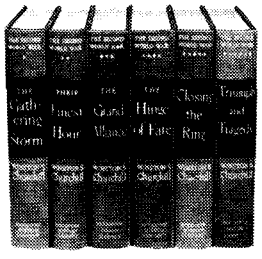

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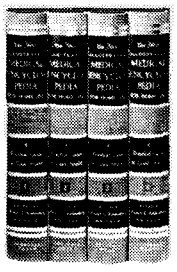

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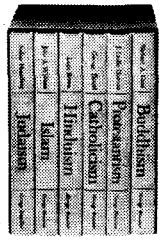

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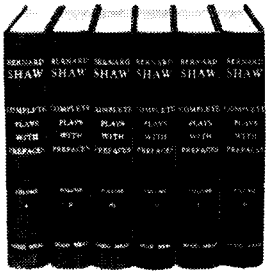

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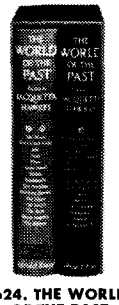

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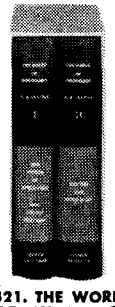

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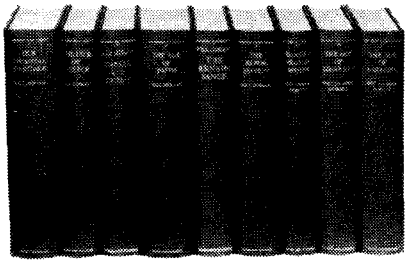

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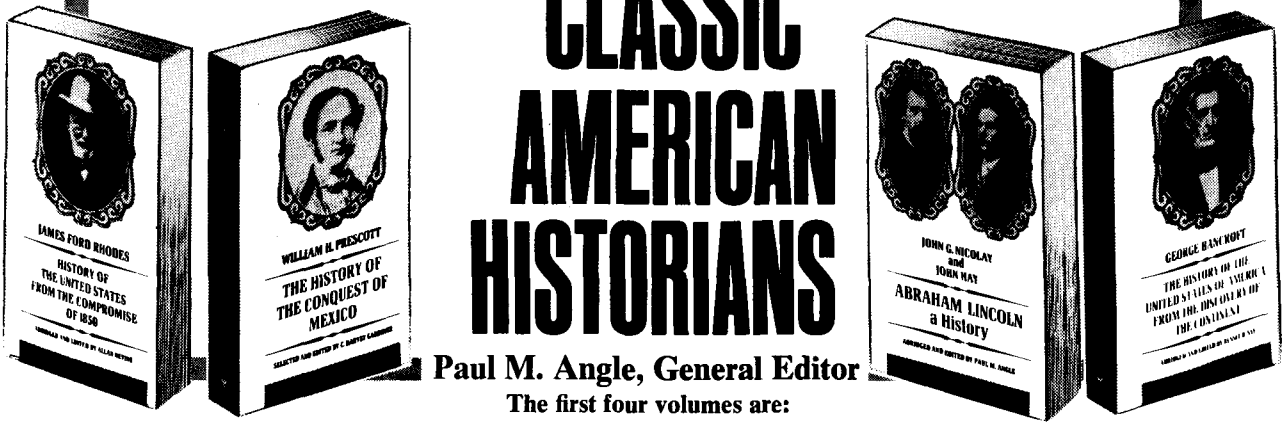
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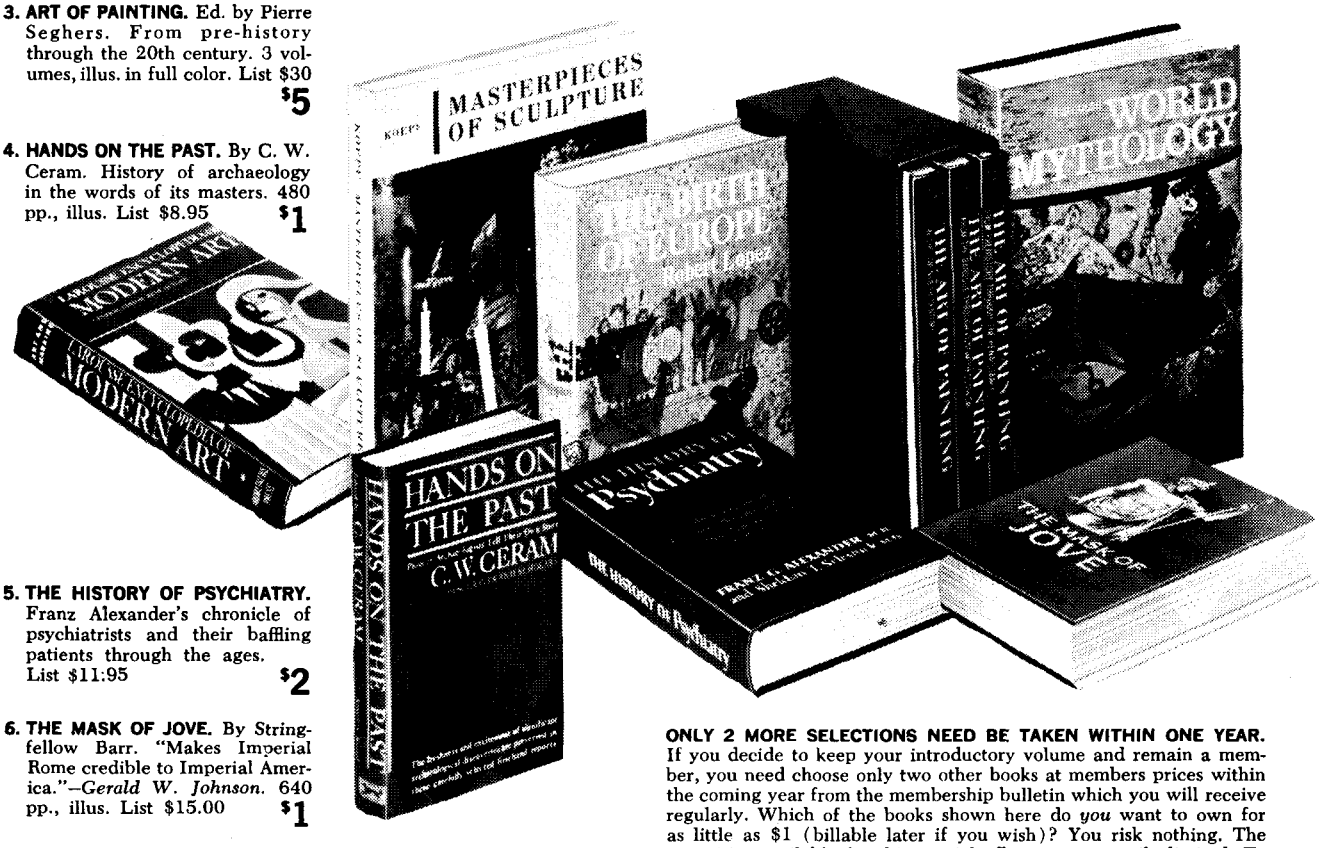

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Up for Sale

★ These heads of the biggest savings and loan institutions of California, these club members, these churchgoers, these Respectables, these men who wouldn't nod hello to you if you said "Hi!" on the street, stuffed wads of $100 bills into unmarked envelopes and gave them to Bobby Baker's friend, or bagman, or whatever you want to call him. The story is coming out in the golden-waxed, wood-paneled Room 21 in the US court here where the usher says "Hizzoner" and tells the public, "All Rise. . . . All-people-having - business - with - the - honorable - court-to-draw-near."

Eighteen people overflow the jury box including six alternates; all Negroes except one white woman. The businessmen aren't on trial, you find. Nor is Bobby Baker on trial for having taken the $60,000 or so which the leaders of California's finance admit having given to him while he was secretary of the Senate majority. No, Baker is on trial for allegedly having failed to pay income tax. The defense isn't fully outlined yet, but part of it will be to the way the evidence was obtained. When Baker's "best friend" went in for a fateful interview with him (after first checking with the Feds) he was wired for transmission like a radio mast.

Influence is a commodity in Washington; it is up for sale all the time. But people are discreet about it, like paying $1,000 annual dues to the "President's Club" which entitles you to a banquet, an overdone steak and a handclasp. Or it is bought by campaign contributions, the commonest way. The leaders of the West Coast savings and loan industry were gullible; after all, they were only bankers. They thought they were buying Brooklyn Bridge. And it probably wasn't their money.

It is doubtful if what they did was illegal. These God-fearing businessmen didn't pay by check, they got no receipt, they got no word that the money had been passed on to supposed congressmen; they asked for no accounting. The only thing they wanted was to make sure that an unfavorable tax provision which, by a coincidence, was pending during part of the episode, wasn't restored. It wasn't.

We have always wondered about businessmen. They believe anything. Normally they are their own worst enemies. These men, we suppose, were used to state legislatures, where wads of bills are more familiar. Things are suaver here. But the mere fact that these Estimables thought you operated like that in Washington doesn't bespeak a healthy atmosphere in the US, does it?

It is not often that the hidden wheels in Washington emerge as crudely. It puts the teeth on edge of those legislators, for example, who stand guard over the 27.5 percent oil depletion allowance – the granddaddy of all tax loopholes. These congressmen do not have to be told how to vote any more than a reporter has to be told what the editorial line of his newspaper is on public *vs* private power. If he has to be told he's in the wrong business.

Good by Contrast

★ Messrs. Dirksen and Ford replied last week to the President's State of the Union message and they made Mr. Johnson look pretty good by contrast. In one version of his advance text our favorite Shakespearean actor moaned that the US should never sit down at the peace table with Viet Cong: to do so would be to surrender abjectly everything for which we now fight, he declared. GOP liberals did everything they could to soften the proposed Dirksen line. The erstwhile monolithic Republican approach begins to split.

Rep. Ford's speech made the federal government the "baddie." The states wore halos. Turn things back to the states, he pleaded. Restore investment tax credit "immediately." (That helps business.) Postpone "low-priority programs . . . cut nonessential spending" (*i.e.*, let the poor pay for the war).

Rep. Ford wants a big new anticrime law of 1967. For example, "This act would make it a crime to travel from one state to another with an intent to incite riots," he said, and so on.

The President's position is that poverty makes crime. To end crime, he says, abolish the ghetto. He vetoed the outlandishly harsh District of Columbia 1966 crime bill. But that is a "soft" approach to conservatives. Don't abolish the ghetto, they say, *master* it, chain it, subdue it! That is J. Edgar Hoover's advice. We see the controversy over crime becoming a kind of negative civil rights-poverty battle.

Two books are just published that you should know about. *Overcharge* (McKay, $5.95) by US Senator Lee Metcalf and Vic Reinemer tells why the same 500 kw hours in NYC costs $14.76 from a private utility and $6.90 in Knoxville from a public utility. It gives tables showing the rate of return of the utility in your city, and tells how state regulatory agencies are corrupted and of the canned editorials printed by millions to persuade you that public ownership is dangerous. There are nice chapters on the hate groups and how big corporations manipulate them.

Studies in the Economics of Income Maintenance ($6, Brookings) edited by Otto Eckstein is a forbidding volume for students and debaters with a vein of pure gold. It compares social security expenditures of 22 nations as percentages of national income. You guessed it, the US is third from the bottom, with a quotient of six; Iceland has 7.9; Germany 20.8. All the other big countries but Japan are way ahead of us. (We're a bit better than South Africa, anyway.)

★ *Notes:* New York's Gov. Rockefeller can't be counted out of the GOP Presidential race. . . . The President defied US watch and sheet-glass manufacturers to roll back tariffs last week, an act of political courage; in another connection he hasn't flinched in trying to broaden trade with communist countries; both acts costing him politically. . . . And Gov. Reagan is doing just about what we predicted to the state university.

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Quaker Underground

The Johnson administration has been quietly at work trying to stop American Quakers from sending medicines to war victims in North and South Vietnam. This harassment began last fall when the Post Office Department instructed its offices across the country to turn away parcels of bandages the Quakers wanted to send to Canada, for relay to Vietnam. Most recently, the harassment has come from the Treasury Department which ordered American banks to block payment of checks made out to Canadian groups that send the supplies. Both the Treasury and the Post Office have acted after consulting with the State Department, which is wary lest these medicines be put to some military use against us.

During the summer of 1966, various Quaker organizations actively sought to aid victims of the war by sending either medical supplies or money to the Canadian Friends Service Committee in Toronto or to the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva. The most common practice was to send money to the Canadian Friends who then would buy supplies, usually consisting of antimalarial or antibiotic pills. These were then sent in equal portions to the Red Cross representatives of South and North Vietnam and to the Viet Cong representative in Hanoi. The medicines were meant for noncombatants, and especially for women and children – the involuntary casualties of the war.

But to the administration, this modest humanitarian gesture by the Quakers was a plain violation of the Trading with the Enemy Act, a 1917 statute that is now interpreted as prohibiting commerce with North Vietnam and the Viet Cong. To get the medicines through without risking violation of the statute, the Quakers had to have a license from the Treasury Department, and a number of groups applied. In September, the government issued 8 or 10 licenses covering $10,000 worth of supplies and cash to be sent to the Canadian Quakers and the International Red Cross. At the time, this was described by the government as a "test" program to determine whether the medicines would be "misused," and more to the point, to see whether the Quaker representatives in Hanoi would have any luck in reaching American prisoners of war.

Since September, however, the government has not approved requests from Quaker groups to send some $30,000 to the Canadian Friends and the International Red Cross. Instead, the authorities have energetically done what they could to shut them up altogether. When

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groups of Quakers went to their local post offices to mail parcels of bandages to Canada, the postal clerks said this could not be allowed, because it would be trading with the enemy. One Quaker sought to send his bandages to New York instead, but a keen postmaster spotted this subterfuge and refused the package. Frustrated by the post office, the Quakers carried the bandages up to Buffalo, N. Y., walked across the Peace Bridge, and after 90 minutes of negotiations with customs officials handed the bandages to Canadians.

The Treasury meanwhile sealed off the bank account of the Quaker Action Group, which as a matter of conscience had refused to apply for a license to send money to Canada. These Quakers received a notice from their Philadelphia bank stating that their funds had been blocked on demand of the Treasury. North Vietnam had an "interest" in the account, the Treasury said by way of explanation. The account has remained frozen for over three months, which means the Quakers can't even use the money in it for administrative purposes. This extraordinary infringement on the right of a voluntary organization to dispose of its own funds represents a clear attempt to run them out of business. Margaret Schwartz, director of the Treasury Department's Foreign Assets Control section, told this journal that other accounts had been frozen as well, but she would not say which ones.

On October 28 the Treasury notified all US banks that they should refuse to honor checks drawn to the account of the Canadian Friends Service Committee, certain officers of the committee, or for that matter, any check that was endorsed by the Canadian Friends. Once these checks are spotted and blocked, the Treasury is notified. Mrs. Schwartz says the department then undertakes an investigation to determine whether the money was intended for the purchase of medical supplies to be sent to North Vietnam or the Viet Cong.

In initiating this drive the Treasury hoped to have the cooperation of the Royal Bank of Canada, where the Canadian Friends keep an account. The Canadian bank refused to help, so the Treasury had to send out letters to 14,000 US banks alerting them.

A blocked check can be used as a form of constant harassment. For example, Mrs. Lee Maria Kleiss of Indianola, Iowa, sent the Canadian Friends a check for $50 in September. This eventually came back and was blocked. The Treasury suggested Mrs. Kleiss apply for a license so she could send the money. She did so, but the license never was approved. Meanwhile, Mrs. Kleiss said, the bank has frozen $50 in her account; it can't be touched for any purpose.

In addition to stopping checks, the telegraph companies, according to Mrs. Schwartz, are expected to cooperate under the Trading with the Enemy Act by refusing to wire money to the Canadian Friends. The post office is not supposed to accept money orders for the Canadians. (For some reason, these proscriptions have not got through, because the post office last week said it will send money orders and Western Union said it will wire funds.)

The Quakers have had experience in bypassing those temporal injunctions which they cannot in good conscience accept. They have formed a sort of underground for getting money through to Canada despite regulations. People drive their cars up to the border and hand over bundles of cash to their Canadian friends. Others get off airplanes and drop off packets of cash at the office of the Canadian Friends. Money is sent in travelers checks, by wire or money order. Sometimes US currency is changed into British pound notes and sent through the mails. David Newlands, the general secretary of the Canadian Friends, says his organization was receiving up to $1,000 a week on average from the United States, although the flow has slowed a bit since the first of the year. Since the Canadian Friends began shipping medicines and medical supplies last summer, Newlands says 640,000 antimalarial and antibiotics pills have been sent, along with lesser quantities of surgical equipment. The cargo is carried free to North Vietnam and the Viet Cong on Soviet ships. Shipments to the South go via Air Canada.

Last week the New York Yearly Meeting of 7,000 Quakers decided it was fed up waiting for a license to transmit $3,000 to the Canadian Friends, and that it would send the dollars whether or not the license came through in time for supplies to be landed aboard a Soviet ship leaving Montreal January 23. The New York Quakers had filed their application in October and spent their time ever since in nit-picking discussions with gentlemanly State Department lawyers.

The government's harassment has frightened away some people from contributing; others are anxious lest their blocked checks fall into the hands of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Joe Pool, the Texas congressman who is a member of the committee, got a bill approved by the House last session that would sentence people to jail for 20 years for sending any kind of materials to the Viet Cong or the North Vietnamese. This act of lunacy never got to the floor of the Senate, but Pool has reintroduced it in the House, and the Quakers are not eager to be victimized by another of the committee's probes.

While the administration goes ahead in putting down this modest effort by the Quakers to relieve a little of the sufferings of war, the members of Congress say nothing. The right to dissent against the war has become too much of an embarrassment for most elected officials to publicly defend. We are entering a time when it is not only suspect but unlawful to put out a helping hand to people we injure by mistake.

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Togetherness

Spring is in the air/Each mortal loves his neighbor/
Who's that lovin' pair/That's capital and labor
– IRA GERSHWIN

With the resignation of John T. Connor as Secretary of Commerce, the President's suggestion that that department and the Department of Labor be merged has briefly returned to the news pages.

There is a plausible, though not persuasive case for unity. The two departments stand side by side in Washington. A few of their functions overlap. It would make some sense, for example, to eliminate duplication in the collection of statistics.

But the basic argument that is put forward for returning to 1903, when there was a single Department of Commerce and Labor (it was cut in two in 1913), is unsound. According to that argument the common concerns of business and labor have become so dominant that the interests of the two are practically indistinguishable. The philosophy of consensus is here interpreted as meaning that we no longer live in an era when labor and its adversaries were "locked in deadly embrace." That change, it is argued by the proponents of merger, should receive institutional recognition by the federal government, which would only be recognizing a *fait accompli*.

Of course there is administrative overlap between Commerce and Labor, and probably always will be, just as there is some overlap between what is done by the Bureau of the Budget and the Treasury. But the problems of bureaucratic inefficiency are not solved by moving boxes on charts. As changes occur in the economy, the functions of the two departments will and should change. But there has been no case made yet for a merger which risks one or the other economic interest being submerged, and which would deprive labor and the business community of their own spokesmen in the Cabinet.

Food Buyers and Sellers

We have the President's promise to "do more to protect the consumer." What and how much more won't be known until Mr. Johnson's special consumer message reaches Congress sometime in the next two months. Meanwhile, as Ed Dowling's report on page 19 suggests, the food industry deserves some federal scrutiny, which it is just beginning to get.

Following the suggestion of last year's National Food Commission report, the Federal Trade Commission last week moved to stop any further mergers in the already highly concentrated food business. Henceforth, says the FTC, it will investigate and probably instigate antitrust action against all mergers involving large retail food chains. The FTC's decision comes a bit late, for in many cities the four biggest supermarket chains already account for as much as 70 percent of retail food purchases; in the past 15 years half the supermarket mergers have involved the 10 largest chains. The result has been higher prices, less efficient operations, less competition. Rep. Benjamin Rosenthal (D, NY) who favors a separate federal agency to test products and release the test information to the public wants existing federal agencies to become more interested in the consumer. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, he says, could publicize its food price surveys so that shoppers could buy more selectively. BLS publishes a monthly breakdown of food prices in the 12 largest metropolitan areas and estimates food prices on specific items for the whole country. Comparing the data from month to month a housewife can tell if prices for individual items are up or down and buy bargains. But BLS surveys do not cover enough cities, they are not readable (except to statisticians) and are not widely distributed. The poor, who might benefit most from the information, are least likely to have even heard of the BLS or its price studies, which currently are sent to only 2,000 people.

Uprooting the Vietnamese

The largest US military offensive in Vietnam (one no longer hears about a South Vietnamese military offensive of any kind) is under way in what is called the "Iron Triangle," a 60-square-mile area about 30 miles north of Saigon. All Vietnamese in this area are being moved out, whether they like it or not. The region is to be made uninhabitable. Ward Just of *The Washington Post* describes the operation in these words: "The most powerful military juggernaut yet assembled by the Americans in the Vietnam war is now roaring through the hardcore communist areas in three provinces to the north and west of Saigon, literally laying waste the countryside. It is the ultimate step in the search and destroy mission." On January 4, Dean Rusk denied that the fighting "has devastated 'much of the countryside'." On January 18, 10 waves of B-52s hit 28 square miles of forest 30 miles from Saigon with magnesium bombs. "It looked like the Fourth of July," said an American military spokesman watching from a helicopter.

Tom Buckley of *The New York Times* reported on January 15 that, "Four villages – Bensuc, Rachhap, Bungcong and Rachkiem – have in fact already ceased to exist. As they left, weeping, many of the women saw

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their homes put to the torch or bulldozed flat." He quotes one woman as saying: "I was very poor in my village, but I didn't mind that. I wanted to stay. Last week the fish-shaped planes flew over our fields. My husband didn't know what they were. He stood up and they shot him down and killed him. I wish I had stayed and got killed too."

As of early last week, over 6,000 Vietnamese had been evacuated along with their cattle, pigs and ox-carts, and were living in some sort of temporary camps. The homes of the refugees have been or will be destroyed by fire, explosives and bulldozers. The American officer in charge of the evacuation, Major Robert Schweitzer, told a correspondent of *The Baltimore Sun* that, "Your heart goes out to them [the refugees] . . . but these are not innocent civilians, these are 100 percent Viet Cong families, an enemy population. . . ."

"Bensuc today," Ward Just's dispatch concludes, "was empty and vacant as a ghost town, with only American and Vietnamese infantrymen standing guard and putting the unpolished rice into bags for shipment to the refugee centers. The stores were empty of goods; and the graves and gardens untended. After the town is razed, it will become a free strike zone – subject to artillery fire and air strikes. Officials here reckon that it is better for the people and better for the allies that the town is sealed and in effect disposed of."

Kirk's Private Police

Claude R. Kirk Jr., the new Republican governor of Florida, promised the citizenry last fall he would smash the gangsters, if elected. To this end he now has enlisted a modern private detective company run by his friend George R. Wackenhut, a well-known former FBI agent. The Wackenhut Corp. will act as the governor's private anticrime force; Wackenhut himself will get $1 a year, and the company will be paid cost-plus profits from funds volunteered by various interested but undisclosed private parties.

The Wackenhut Corp., which was described in the May 14, 1966 issue of this journal, makes a good business of pre-packaging municipal police forces, fire departments and rescue squads of one sort or another, as well as offering businessmen a counterespionage service. Branching out into running an anticrime unit is right up its alley. The company has offices in 22 states and Latin America and does the bulk of its business with the federal government, in particular, with NASA and the Atomic Energy Commission. It also screens employees for government subcontractors. To facilitate this work, Wackenhut maintains a file of 2.5 million names of people and companies on which it has information, and it adds new names at the rate of 10,000 a week. George Wackenhut's employees, most of whom are former FBI agents, are old hands at the communist menace game, and the *Wackenhut Security Review*, published monthly, provides a rundown on university professors, students, the American Association of University Professors and other "Pinks" who are fronting for "Reds." The company's western regional office is headed by Ralph E. Davis, who is a member of the national council of the John Birch Society. Wackenhut's revenues have trebled in the past five years and now total $17.7 million annually; its stock is sold over the counter. In addition to servicing private business, and the executive branch of the government, Wackenhut also conducts investigation for the Congress, and handled the inquiries on Adam Clayton Powell for Rep. Wayne Hays' administration subcommittee.

If Wackenhut's business continues to mushroom, it should soon be in a position to compete favorably with the FBI itself, which it resembles in a more up-to-date form.

Adoption Laws

All signs point to a happy ending to the much publicized custody struggle involving Michael and Mary Liuni, a 48-year-old couple of Italian extraction, Elizabeth St. John, their Nordic-featured foster child, and "Buzzy" Fitzsimmons, a former truck driver and high-school dropout who is now welfare commissioner of Ulster County, N.Y. They became household names when national television and newspapers disclosed that the Liunis were being forced to give up 4 1/2-year-old Beth because – among other things – they were dark-haired and dark-eyed and Beth was a blonde with blue eyes.

On January 9, New York Surrogate Judge R. Waldron Herzberg reopened the case to decide once and for all whether the child would be given permanently to the Liunis or removed from the family. Three days later, Mr. Fitzsimmons made an about-face, saying that he was prepared "to sign the necessary agreement so that little Elizabeth may be removed from the glare and spotlight of publicity." On January 16, Judge Herzberg signed the adoption papers and made it official.

The case dramatically illustrates the need for reform of New York's haphazard adoption and foster home procedures. Dozens of less-celebrated "Liuni" cases may be occurring annually.

Beth St. John is an illegitimate child who was assigned to the Liunis by the county welfare department four days after she was born to a woman in Woodstock, N.Y., about 20 miles northwest of the Liunis' middle-class, ranch-style home in Tillson. Under New York's state foster care laws (and everywhere else in

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of foster children. It is strictly a temporary situation, where the foster family is paid ($100 a month) to house a child until it can be returned home or adopted.

The Liunis were aware of this, having cared for four foster children, including Beth, over the last five years. But Beth was allowed to remain with the Liunis for more than 3½ years. During that time a deep emotional attachment grew among the child, the Liunis and their three natural children. The Liunis made it plain to a social worker on several occasions that they were anxious to adopt the child. They were told to be patient, that she was not yet legally available, that the longer she was there the better their chances.

Suddenly, last March, a caseworker came to the house and told the Liunis to prepare the child for adoption elsewhere. Stunned, they refused. A few weeks later, Fitzsimmons brought a *habeas corpus* proceeding to wrest the child from their possession. In the court hearing that followed, the welfare department gave its rationale. The Liunis were "Italian on both sides," their coloring was dark; Beth was of "French and Irish and German" extraction. "Nationality background is the thing that we look for," said a caseworker, adding, however, that it was not the "guiding" consideration.

In addition, the Liunis were 48. Ulster County's standard age cutoff is 35. Finally, Mrs. Liuni had been ill in the fall of 1965, and required shock treatments. No one from the county had ever examined Mrs. Liuni. A county doctor testified he "didn't have to examine her. . . . Mrs. Liuni had shock therapy. This in itself writes a history." Doctors for Mrs. Liuni testified she was fully cured.

Psychiatrists differed about the emotional impact on Beth of her removal from the Liuni home. The doctor who examined her for the county theorized that there would be few scars, but testified that at the time of the examination she didn't know the Liunis were serious about adopting Beth.

The county agreed that the Liunis had been outstanding foster parents.

When all the facts were in, Judge Hugh Elwyn ruled for the welfare commissioner, agreeing that ethnic and other considerations favored removal. Even if he felt otherwise, Judge Elwyn continued, state law and previous court opinion make it clear that a judge is powerless to supersede the decision of a welfare commissioner in adoption cases.

Present state law, while generally vague on adoption and foster home procedure, is precise in its insistence that ultimate discretion in determining adoptions lies with the welfare commissioner (or with a private agency where such agency is involved). A judge may disapprove an adoption recommendation, but he may not approve one over the commissioner's objection. In other words, welfare officials in each county make their own rules and set their own standards for adoptions. Inevitably a patchwork of standards – differing from county to county – results. Abuses or arbitrary decisions generally go unchallenged. The would-be parent, turned down for adoption for whatever reason, has no recourse.

The Child Welfare League has been suggesting uniform adoption standards for 40 years (it opposes nationality as a factor), but they are just suggestions.

The state social welfare department has vague policy guidelines, but it rarely challenges the autonomy of local departments. (In the Liuni case, the state welfare commissioner announced that use of ethnic standards violates state policy. However, a former welfare official of another county says that ethnic matching is subtly encouraged.)

Judge Elwyn's decision was eventually voided – not for any substantive reason, but because it was revealed he was related to Fitzsimmons, which gives some idea of the almost ludicrous comedy of errors involved in the Liuni saga.

Now that the dust has settled, however, the prospects look good for new legislation that might prevent recurrence of a Liuni case – in Ulster County or anywhere else in the state. Experts in the adoption field would like to see at least two basic changes. First, a law that gives foster parents prior rights to a child that has remained in the home more than two years. (New Jersey is presently the only state in the nation with such a provision). Second, legislation providing machinery for review of adoption decisions by local welfare officials and private adoption agencies. Review could begin at the state welfare department level, and move to the courts in case of conflict. In any event, the authority of often unqualified welfare czars ought to be regulated.

LEROY F. AARONS

Drinking and Winking In North Carolina

Raleigh, N. C.

To the parched throats of the drinking classes in the state of North Carolina disaster has struck in a brown paper bag, and the land of the Tar Heels is now embroiled in the most spirited argument over spirituous beverages since 1933.

In that year North Carolina, the conscience of the Bible Belt, refused to ratify the repeal of the national ban on intoxicating liquors. It has never ratified the Twenty-First Amendment, but over the years, to accommodate those who voted dry and drank wet, legal

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liquor has slowly spread across the state.

On a local option basis, liquor is sold through state stores (limit, five fifths) in 41 of the state's 100 counties and in 38 municipalities within dry counties. In the Moravian and Baptist stronghold of Winston-Salem, for instance, liquor may be purchased at five state stores, but surrounding Forsyth County, of which Winston-Salem is the county seat, is dry. Booze may not be legally bought, sold, transported or consumed there. (It goes without saying that for the convenience of county drinkers, some of the Winston stores are conveniently located near the city line.)

State law specifies that liquor, once legally purchased, must be taken home with seals intact and there consumed by the buyer or his bona fide guests. By tradition evolved over the years, however, key clubs and private clubs have allowed members to store whisky in lockers on the premises, to be consumed there, and conventions assembled at motels and hotels could count on a supply of bracing refreshment.

Although the purchase of liquor by the drink has never been permitted, restaurants have allowed patrons to bring their own bottles in brown paper bags. In this procedure, popularly known as "brown-bagging," the bottles were kept on the floor, theoretically out of sight, and for a fee the management innocently provided glasses, ice and mixers.

From time to time temperance and civic groups denounced the winking at the letter of the law embodied in the practice of brown-bagging. Six years ago, in the mountain tourist and white lightning center of Asheville, the Junior Chamber of Commerce in a burst of righteousness criticized the sheriff's office for not enforcing the liquor regulations. The sheriff responded by raiding a Jaycee convention and carting off a truckload of bottles and delegates.

Last year a small club operator in Charlotte, the state's largest city, was convicted of illegal possession of liquor, and the booze and brown-bag battle boiled up with renewed intensity. It has not subsided. Pressed for a guideline interpretation of the law, the state attorney general's office said the controlling statutes mean exactly what they say – that liquor may be imbibed only in the home and that brown-bagging, key clubs and private lockers for personal booze storage in country clubs are all illegal.

The state Alcoholic Beverage Control Board announced immediately that to enforce the ruling it would have to increase its staff of investigators by 1,950 percent. It appealed to local police for assistance; local police hedged; wets and drys flew at each other's throats. All over the state, restaurant and club trade began to fall off as a few sporadic arrests stoked the fires. The sale of wine and beer, which may be legally consumed on the premises of licensed establishments and bought for carry-out at others, rose. Champagne parties replaced cocktail parties (generally known here as "receptions").

An alarmed group of club and cafe owners in Charlotte got a court order forbidding ABC officers to enforce the attorney general's ruling, pending an appeal to the state Supreme Court. For a time the brown bags reappeared and folks drank easier. But just before Christmas the Supreme Court closed every last one of the loopholes that had comforted drinking Carolinians for a quarter of a century. The court ruled that under the law liquor could be consumed only in one's home. It ordered immediate enforcement, and the shock wave rolling across the state was so violent that no Baptist or other Carolinian felt that he could legally give a bottle to a friend for Christmas.

Conventions have been canceling out of North Carolina resorts by the dozens, and Charlotte alone claims it has lost more than $1 million in convention business. The state legislature meets here February 8, and it is under heavy pressure from club operators and restaurateurs to relax the liquor laws.

The pressure is not all from one direction. The Rev. H. L. Ferguson, also from Charlotte and spirituous leader of the state's million Baptists, has announced that he and his anti-booze Christian Action League, representing 14 religious denominations, will fight liberalization of the law "to the last ditch." Militant Temperance League officials have promised to turn out rural (and thereby theoretically dry) voters in numbers never before seen in this state if liquor goes to referendum. One *ad hoc* committee of businessmen has formed to fight liquor by the drink, and another has formed in support of it.

The traditional unblessed alliance of drys and mountaineers also still prevails, although the moonshiners are not known to have a formal or *ad hoc* committee. Governor Dan K. Moore, a Methodist, has stated his opposition to the sale of liquor over the bar, but he concedes that the legislature must thoroughly review the morass of liquor laws dating back to the 1920's.

The present prospect is for passage of a measure legalizing the brown paper bag. North Carolina has survived Yankees, Reconstruction, the boll weevil, tobacco blight and the race wars, but it is not yet ready for the cocktail lounge.

As a business, liquor is viewed by the North Carolina public with suspicion and embarrassment. Last year the legislature, wild for the establishment of new industry in the state, voted to keep out a distillery. To have allowed it would have invited a Baptist march on Raleigh. Booze, nevertheless, is a factor in the state's economy, although no one knows quite how much. They know this much: that in 1965 the state stores sold a total of $108,251,516 worth of booze and made

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a profit of $14,255,461. Ironically, some of the dry counties (Forsyth, for example) get a cut of this profit. They do not refuse it.

Books are kept to the last bottle. The 5.5 million gallons vended consisted of 242,472 quarts, 9,959,220 fifths, 27,332,904 hip-sized pints and 694,368 concealable tenths.

Since the purchasing power of the state's few openly confessed wets is not sufficient to sustain a trade of that volume, ABC officials claim that about 4 million of those gallons were bought by drinkers who in an election would vote dry.

There remains in North Carolina a historic traffic in moonshine whisky. The ABC Board estimates that illegal distillers, who vote dry, like Baptists, produce about 2 million gallons of white lightning annually. It is actually rather hard to find unless one has connections in the trade, and although some can be found in the cheap dives of the Negro districts most of it is not consumed locally. Like the best of North Carolina's textiles and furniture, it is shipped north.

BYNUM SHAW

The High Cost of "Historic Rights"

What the Portuguese Face in Africa

Lisbon

In the United Nations, the strongly worded condemnations of Portugal for her stubborn refusal to give up colonies in Africa are viewed as routine rhetoric, having not the slightest effect on reality. But in Lisbon all this is taken more seriously. The press here runs headlines such as this: "Nine of our NATO allies voted against Portugal in UN." Fear that the UN will send an expeditionary corps to take away Angola or Mozambique has faded; yet this small nation of nine million, cut off from the mainstream of modern life by a dictatorship now in its 41st year, squirms under outside criticism.

Portugal has been at war since April 1961, when the Angolan revolt first broke out, and the end of the war is nowhere in sight. Portugal has 120,000 troops in Africa – a staggering figure for a small country – and more might be needed. The length of the military service for every young Portuguese is four years. The war is consuming over 20 percent of the national budget, roughly $150 million a year. Total military expenditures represent some 40 percent of the budget. New warships have recently been ordered from France and other countries.

To someone like myself, accustomed to hearing Portuguese policy in Africa castigated in the UN, it's a startling experience to discover that people here, or at least those who rule, have an absolute faith in the rightness of a cause which to other nations looks so despicable. "It is an old story," said a leading member of the Salazar government, "the big powers always want to rob small Portugal of its overseas possessions." (The word "colonies" is banned. What Portugal has in Africa are "overseas territories"; Africans living there are "overseas Portuguese"; so are the Chinese living in Macao and the Indonesians in Timor. Goa, forcibly annexed by India a few years ago, is called "our possession in India under temporary foreign occupation.")

Over the centuries, the Salazar official told me, "the big powers said that Portugal was too backward to be able to bring progress to Africa." Today, he adds, "the same claim is being made and a new theory has been added: the right of every people to self-determination." However, he says, all this means is that the big powers hope to dominate newly independent states. Self-determination has the support in the UN of the US and Britain on one hand, and the communist powers on the other, he believes, because all of them wish to control the new countries. "But Portugal refuses to abandon her historic rights and her great mission to satisfy others' ambitions. She also refuses 'friendly advice' that she grant some concession which could appease the African states for a while. Only after final victory will we, perhaps, be able to agree to proposals which the Americans are constantly whispering in our ears. But this is not likely to come soon."

It will not come soon because the Portuguese in Africa face something similar to what Americans face in Vietnam. The Angolan and Mozambique rebels are too weak to win decisive military victories; moreover, they are divided among themselves. But since they have the support of the Mobutu government in the neighboring Congo, and of Tanzania, and since they receive shipments of Czech arms from time to time, the rebels are able to sabotage Portuguese pacification efforts. Sustaining those efforts would be hard enough for a rich country; but Portugal is probably the poorest country in Europe. Though her money is traditionally stable, prices have gone up tremendously in the last few years. Salaries and wages are so miserable that hundreds of thousands of Portuguese have left, legally or more often illegally, for France, Germany and other European countries. In many Portuguese villages only old men, women and children remain.

Unrealistic as their stubborn clinging to African possessions may be, the ruling men of Portugal show a remarkable realism on other great problems of the

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world. Profoundly anti-communist, they nevertheless strongly criticize America's involvement in Vietnam, describing it as "the worst possible place to meet the communist challenge." They also disapprove of the American attitude toward China, contrasting it to their own "elastic" attitude in Macao: "We cannot defend this territory, so we prefer to appease Peking."

To show their displeasure with the US stand in the UN, the Lisbon government refuses to sign a new agreement for the American air base in the Azores, some 1,000 miles from the Portuguese coast. And yet, though the previous agreement expired two years ago, the Americans are still there; Lisbon closes its eyes to their continued presence. Portugal has nothing to gain from any weakening of the US role in the world; anyway, modern jet planes hardly need a refueling station in the midst of the Atlantic, as did the World War II planes.

To an outsider Portugal seems isolated, a kind of western Albania. But not to its leaders. They point with pride to good relations with France and even better relations with West Germany. In the NATO quarrel, Portugal often openly sides with de Gaulle, and in the UN France always abstains on votes concerning Portuguese colonies (as she does on all other similar problems, including Rhodesia and South Africa, under the pretext that these are "domestic problems" of the particular countries). A huge German air base is now under construction in southern Portugal. It will give German military pilots "freedom of the air" which the narrow limits of the *Bundesrepublik* can't provide. For the Portuguese economy this base is an enormous asset; Bonn will spend hundreds of millions of dollars on its construction and upkeep and eventually 6,000 Germans will live there.

In addition to the possibility of new revolts in her African colonies and new demands by Red Guards in Macao, what Lisbon fears most today are repercussions of the mandatory economic sanctions against the Ian Smith regime of Rhodesia. "It is true," I was told, "that we recently bought 200 tons of Rhodesian tobacco instead of 100 tons we were buying annually before, but Rhodesia produces annually 200,000 tons. It is true that we increased our purchases of Rhodesian sugar from 10,000 to 30,000 tons, but Rhodesia has annually 400,000 tons for export. It is true that oil products (though not crude oil) are passing to Rhodesia by way of Mozambique, but who supplies those products? Respectable American, British and other western oil companies. And don't think that the communist countries do not want to trade with Portugal and her overseas possessions. No, our help to Mr. Smith is insignificant, because we cannot afford to help him more. But most certainly we are not going to cause him any harm."

Philip Ben

Coming to Grips with the Color Bar in Britain

London

The stage is now set in Britain for a sizable campaign to carry legislation against racial discrimination into the fields of housing, employment and finance. In February the Race Relations Board in its first annual report will make the case, and the National Committee on Commonwealth Immigrants headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury will concurrently run a three-day seminar. All the pressure groups are hinting that if the government does not act, resignations will follow.

The existing Race Relations Act deals only with discrimination in public places and discrimination by written or spoken word. In the mood of racial nervousness of 1965 this was as far as parliamentary opinion was prepared to go. For the Conservatives it was going too far, especially in the provision that made actual written or spoken words, not their effect, an offense. They feared this would make the Act dangerously capricious, and to some extent they have been proved right. The most widely publicized prosecution under the 1965 Act packed a 17-year-old boy of doubtful mental steadiness off to Borstal for fixing the slogan "Blacks not wanted here" to the front door of his local MP's house. The attorney general who brought the prosecution was roundly abused, not just by the Conservatives but by much Liberal and Labour opinion.

Those closest to Britain's million immigrants realized from the start that, capriciousness apart, the 1965 Act barely scraped the surface of serious discrimination, and in the past year they have worked quietly and systematically to prove their point. A field survey in heavy immigrant areas in Manchester, Southall and Leeds unearthed at the modest cost of $3,000 over 50 cases of job discrimination. The survey, which was run by CARD – "Campaign Against Racial Discrimination" – used the standard technique of sending in the colored applicant who was consistently refused the job, and subsequently the white applicant who got it, to great effect, and then sent off the dossier to the Race Relations Board, which under its terms of reference prescribed by the 1965 Act is powerless to do anything. The point was made.

Maneuvers like this by CARD and kindred organizations have brought home the anomalous position of the Race Relations Board to the staff of the board itself and to the government. Over the course of a year 75 percent of the complaints referred to the board were outside the scope of its authority, and yet it is within this 75 percent that the discrimination is economically and socially most wounding. Statistics

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thrown up by field work reveal, for instance, that in one area 90 percent of Indians with university degrees are doing unskilled work. Currently the immigration laws are fixed to admit mainly qualified immigrants, and a system which beckons qualified men away from countries in need only to set them to manual work once they get to Britain is clearly iniquitous.

Central and local government bodies, some trades unions, some private firms make resounding declarations against discrimination in jobs; housing authorities echo them, but this is no guide to what really happens in apartment blocks, on housing estates, or on the shop and office floor. Research done points to widespread discrimination, but the shyness with which employers and officials approach racial questions makes it difficult even for the immigrant organizations to get an accurate picture. Many will still say that keeping a tally implies discrimination; they don't discriminate, so they don't keep figures!

The people with the job to do have broken from this attitude. There is a race problem and to meet it ignorance is no longer bliss. Mark Bonham-Carter, once a Liberal MP, now chairman of the Race Relations Board, has taken a close look at North American experience and concluded that discrimination in housing and in employment can be met head-on, and that effective machinery is a prerequisite of equality. This attitude is now common among those who five years back might have thought that goodwill, fine words and a minimum of fuss would do the trick.

Two special factors stand behind the need for action now. Unemployment is rising and is likely to go on rising. Within three years a postwar baby boom will start to come out of the schools. On both counts the pressures on the labor market will be severe – especially where the immigrant gets squeezed worst, among the quite unskilled and among the newly employed. Failure to stiffen the law now will lead in the view of the campaigners to permanent second-class status for the immigrant, always on the border line of unemployment, and this in turn will lead to ghettoes in the cities where immigrants are most numerous.

Inside the government the campaign has the ear of the Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, whose determination to rank as a liberal in office is in no way diminished. But whether the cabinet as a whole would stand for an extension of the law is by no means certain. After the 1964 general election, Labour moved very fast to get out from under the Smethwick backlash, and this year's election proved that Labour had got off the hook and that severe controls on new immigration had diffused race as a party political question. But after the 1964 fright, majority government opinion would not want to be caught a second time, and this means that the ball is very much in the Conservative court. At the moment the Conservatives show no relish for leaning on racial anxieties, and the hope of the campaigners must be that the broad consensus between the parties on keeping fresh immigrants out can be translated into agreement on getting some meaningful equality for those already in. In such circumstances the Race Relations Board could get the agreed go-ahead it really needs. Yet the suspicion remains that once the pressures for and against start building up on the political parties, emotion will again out-argue logic and there will be a new rash of ugliness at the end of which Britain will again be no further forward with what should be after all one of the world's more manageable race problems.

BRIAN WENHAM

The Case for the Electoral College

The American Bar Association had an important – perhaps the decisive – part in launching the Twenty-Fifth Amendment to the federal Constitution, which deals with the problems of presidential succession and disability. The Twenty-Fifth Amendment has been ratified by 31 state legislatures, and will almost certainly become part of the Constitution this spring. A special committee of the Bar Association has, in the meantime, come up with another proposal to give us a more perfect Constitution. This one calls for abolition of the Electoral College, and the election of Presidents and Vice Presidents by nationwide popular vote. It would provide also for a runoff election in the event that no candidate attains 40 percent of the popular vote. The proposal is simple and attractive, and may seem so just and right and comfortable to basic democratic principles as to be virtually beyond argument. And yet it would have complex and essentially undemocratic consequences.

Under the present system, it is possible for a candidate to receive a minority of the popular vote, but a substantial majority of the Electoral College vote, and thus to defeat the winner of a popular majority. The last time this happened was in 1888, when Benjamin Harrison became President even though he had 100,000 fewer popular votes than Grover Cleveland. It has not happened since, and is not very likely to happen, but it is a possibility that affects the strategy of presi-

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dential contests. It remains a possibility because the total electoral vote of a state is awarded to the candidate who receives a popular majority or plurality, no matter how small, in that state. This is done, not because the Constitution so provides, but because custom has so established it in modern times, and because the smaller states must in their own self-interest follow the lead of the larger states in this respect.

The upshot is that many popular votes are wasted in the more homogeneous states, and that presidential elections are for the most part decided in the large, populous states, where, in turn, block voting, as by minorities, or by solid party organizations in the cities, is often decisive. This has meant that modern Presidents have been particularly sensitive and responsive to urban and minority interests. It has meant, as James M. Burns has recently reminded us, that each of our major parties is really two parties – a congressional party, moderate to conservative in orientation, and a presidential party, which is pretty much urban liberal. The Bar Association's proposal would in great measure change all that; it would remove the President's incentive to be a counterweight for Congress and, while a national leader, a particular spokesman for urban and minority groups, and it would remove the incentive to nominating conventions to select a man who can be such a spokesman.

There is nothing terribly novel about this insight. It is what defeated prior proposals for constitutional amendments which were very much like the present Bar Association draft. The answer is made, however, that the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote reapportionment decisions deprive this insight of any relevance it ever had, as an argument against change. The fact that the Electoral College system tends to weight the President's constituency toward the cities and toward minority groups was a relevant and valid consideration so long as it was true that the Congress was weighted the other way, and that rather than being given a disproportionate share of power, the big cities were merely being awarded a due share of countervailing power. But the Congress was weighted the other way, as were state legislatures, through malapportionment, and malapportionment is no more. Hence the reasons, such as they were, for tolerating the undemocratic aberration of the Electoral College no longer hold. The Supreme Court has said that the Constitution commands equal apportionment. We should, therefore, reapportion the Presidency. In effect, we must now amend the Constitution to make it mean what the Supreme Court has said it means.

This is an arresting argument, but its paradoxical nature is not the main thing wrong with it. What is wrong with it is, first, that one may think that a system of countervailing centers of power – Mr. Burns' four-party system – is a better one for a country as large and as diverse as ours than what we are now being offered, and that, instead of changing the Constitution to make it conform to the Supreme Court's apportionment decisions, we ought to work to overturn those decisions. This point, however, may not have wide appeal, since the apportionment decisions are apparently quite popular. Which brings us to a second objection to the Bar Association proposal, namely, that it wildly overestimates the immediate impact of the apportionment decisions, and the durability of that impact. True, the Court has been insisting on the goal of equality of representation. But it has never insisted on mathematical equality of districts; and it has never suggested that districting is itself unlawful. Nor has it tackled the practice of gerrymandering, which is quite capable of achieving all that the most sophisticated system of malapportionment could produce. Again, neither the Court nor the Bar Association has yet proposed abolition of the Senate, which represents the ultimate in malapportionment – with Nevada, Idaho and Alaska, say, having the same number of Senators as New York, Illinois and California. Finally, the notion that the traditional orientation of Congress has been decisively altered by the apportionment decisions disregards the effect of congressional methods of internal distribution of power, chief among them the seniority system. The truth is that the change of conditions assumed by the proponents of the Bar Association amendment has not occurred as yet. And if it should occur, we would have no assurance of its permanence. Absent such a change of conditions, the Electoral College represents the only effective hold on power in the federal government that the urban population centers have.

Under the present system, Professor Herbert Wechsler wrote more than a decade ago, "a presidential candidacy must be pointed toward the states of largest population. . . . It must balance this direction by attention to other elements of the full coalition that is looked to for an electoral majority. Both parties have a strong incentive to absorb protest movements of such sectional significance that their development in strength would throw elections to the House. Both must give some attention to the organized minorities that may approach balance-of-power status in important states. . . . The most important element of party competition in this framework is the similarity of the appeal that each must make. This is a constant affront to those who seek purity of ideology in politics; it is the clue, however, to the success of our politics in the elimination of extremists – and to the tolerance and basic unity that is essential if our system is to work."

How would it work if we changed it?

ALEXANDER M. BICKEL

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Mao's Worst Crisis

by Minoru Omori

Tokyo

"Atrocities in Nanking!" This headline on a Red Guard poster in Peking reminds us Japanese of our own guilty past. But it also tells us that Mao's revolution has reached its final stage.

In 1937 when the Japanese armed forces made their triumphant entry into Nanking, they slaughtered and committed outrages upon 300,000 Chinese. "Is there anyone among your relatives who fell victim to this mass slaughter?" I asked Mao I-chih, 38 years old and one of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, with whom I was sharing dinner last fall in Nanking.

"No," he said. "And I would rather forget that nightmare and talk about the prospect of friendly relations between China and Japan."

But when I began raising some doubts about the Red Guard "cultural revolution" that had just begun to sweep over the country, he turned angry; criticism of Mao is taboo; my violation of the taboo let loose old feelings: "The Japanese imperialists attacked Shanghai on August 13 in 1937. My uncle was bayoneted to death by them. The blood of 200,000 Nanking citizens dyed the water of the Yangtze. At the Chung Shan-ling Mausoleum, where Sun Yat-sen is buried, two Japanese officers played at butchery, killing more than 150 citizens."

Now we have reports of new violence in China, clashes on a large scale among workers' organizations. The toll of dead and wounded has been heavy despite efforts of the People's Liberation Army and the People's Security Police to put down the fighting. Railway traffic between Peking and Nanking and Shanghai and Nanking has been suspended; bloody outbreaks are reported in neighboring provinces along the Yangtze, such as Wu Shih.

According to reliable information from Peking, the Red Guards (spearheads of the "cultural revolution") have been completely split; workers' groups have risen in revolt. We are told that the number of rioters has gone up from 500,000 to one million. Trade unions have sent more than 100,000 reinforcements into Nanking; even the People's Liberation Army and the People's Security Police are on the verge of breaking up.

Last December 26 on the 73rd birthday of Mao Tse-tung, three things happened. First, the Mao Tse-tung group made public Liu Shao-chi's "self-criticism." Liu Shao-chi is President of China (sometimes referred to as Chief-of-State or as Chairman of the People's Republic). Second, a "workers revolution" proclamation appeared in the Peking *People's Daily (Jenmin Jih Pao)*, organ of the Communist Party. Third, the Chinese Trade Unions (*Tson Kon Hui*) were denounced in a speech by Chiang Ching (Mme. Mao the Third).

I pointed out after I returned last fall from a trip to China that "the Chinese revolution has not as yet fully penetrated agrarian or production sectors," and that it had run into "a serious deadlock because of resistance among factory workers." I also raised the question of why the blueprint of the third five-year plan had not yet been released?

The prelude to what is now happening was the arrest last spring of the mayor of Peking, Peng Chen, which was followed by the arrest of dissident elements among the People's Liberation Army including former chief-of-staff, General Lo Jui-ching. But Mao Tse-tung and his right-hand man, Lin Piao, overestimated what had been accomplished during that period; they then tried to lead the revolution to its finale in quick march. And it was Chiang Ching who pushed the go-ahead button.

Mao's wife appeared for the first time publicly in Tien An Men, before a rally of one million Red Guards on August 18, 1966. She reviewed the rally from a balcony. I was there. I noticed there were some Chinese who could not suppress a giggle and I asked why? I was told: "A Chinese proverb says, 'The hen announces the dawn.' In other words, the cock's generation ends when the hen announces the dawn." The activities of the "courtesan" Chiang Ching have the ring of ancient clashes of the old Imperial Court.

When the Red Guards were organized as the vanguard of revolution last spring, it amounted in practical terms to the dissolution of the long-existing Communist Youth Organization, which had been the nucleus of Mao's revolution. During his visit to Hanoi in 1963, President Liu Shao-chi had boasted that the "60 million members of the Communist Youth Organiza-

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tion are the nuclear bomb of China."

In probing the identity of the Red Guards during my stay in China, I first tried to get straight the relations between them and the Communist Youth. I found that the Red Guards consisted of students carefully selected only from the offspring of revolutionary leaders – those killed in the early struggle, poor agrarian families and industrial workers. This convinced me that this "cultural revolution" is a real proletarian revolution. None of the parents blame the Red Guard youngsters for their reckless deeds. They even encourage them.

This January 6, one poster was put up on the campus of Ching Hua University, the MIT of Peking, which astounded passersby. The author, a college girl named Liu Tao, was none other than the daughter of President Liu Shao-chi. The poster said: "Under the influence of my mother, Wan Kuang-mei, I had to support the position of my parents. (She referred to her parents without any honorific.) On the evening of July 26 in 1966, Chen Po-ta, head of the cultural revolution group under the Party Central Committee and Chiang Ching, Mme. Mao Tse-tung, deputy head of the group, told us at the University of Peking about the last failure of the so-called Workers Party and bitterly criticized that failure. When I told my father, Liu Shao-chi, about it, he became exasperated and would not admit his error, saying, 'The Workers Party must not be blamed!' I told him: 'It was not a mere accident that you committed errors. There is a clear cause. Haven't you made any mistake before?' Even my mother, Wan Kuang-mei, trembled with rage at my words. My father boasted, 'Mao Tse-tung had no prestige until the seventh general meeting of the party (1945). Your father and other leaders established the prestige for him'."

Cracking Down on the Unions

The trade unions which Mao's wife has made a target of the "cultural revolution," were Liu Shao-chi's citadel. In 1925, at the age of 27, he had helped organize the workers' movement and became its deputy director. He led the 1922 Ping Siang coal mine strike and the one in Shanghai in 1925. He still controls the union as its honorary president. It is only natural to regard its dissolution by Chiang Ching as an attack on Liu Shao-chi. It is also not surprising that there have been bloody clashes between Red Guards and workers in Nanking and in provinces along the Yangtze. [One report based on Japanese, French and Irish sources and received last week states that "inflation is mounting and workers are pressing for an increase in wages in all industrial centers, especially in Shanghai. The workers fear that the 'cultural revolution' will cause a fall in the living standard and purchasing power of their wages. This is why there are strikes and why the Mao-Lin faction has to disband the Trade Unions." – *The Editors*]

According to information available from Nanking via Peking, the rioting workers have split the ranks of the People's Liberation Army and have criticized the Red Guards. The workers are identified with Propaganda Chief Tao Chu, who was criticized by Chiang Ching in December and whose downfall has been reported.

In a poster appearing on January 4, Mao Tse-tung was said to have complained that he has been virtually on the shelf these past eight years. He is quoted as having said: "I was dissatisfied with the decision made at the Wu Chang conference (the sixth general meeting of the Chinese Communist Party) in 1958, but I could do nothing about it. The Party Central Committee treated me like a dead father."

There is a teaching in Mao's writings: "If you have learned that your opponent intends to kill you, never fail to kill him, or he will kill you." So Mao is closing in on Liu Shao-chi. It is an extremely dangerous gamble. For according to a reliable source in Peking, only one of the six central organs of the Chinese Communist Party (the one in Manchuria) is under firm control of the Mao-Lin group. The other five are still controlled by Liu Shao-chi. It is probable that the Liu group can exercise influence in local party organizations even if the Trade Union is dissolved.

A showdown between Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-chi is therefore looming. This confrontation will touch off a series of bloody fights in major cities between Red Guards and workers. It is also possible that Mao's ally, Lin Piao, will seek to exacerbate tensions outside the country, so that he can show off his military power to the 700 million Chinese and demonstrate the unity of the whole country in face of external dangers.

While the concentration of Russian troops along the border between the Soviet Union and Manchuria is encouraging to Liu Shao-chi and his group in Peking, the escalation in Vietnam is equally encouraging to the Mao-Lin group, which welcomes trouble outside.

Japan's Communist Party secretary-general, Kenji Miyamoto, met Mao Tse-tung at a hot-spring resort in the suburb of Canton last April 29. Those who accompanied Mao were the Communist Party general secretary, Teng Hsaio-ping, and the propaganda chief, Tao Chu – both subsequently attacked by the Mao-Lin group. At that meeting Mao urged that "since it is most probable that a US-China war will break out within two years, the Japanese Communist Party should return to its 1951 line," essentially an incendiary strategy. Miyamoto refused this demand, being well aware that such a policy was not acceptable to any leftist in Japan. Shortly before this incident, Choi Yong Kwon, head of the People's Meeting Committee

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of the North Korean Labor Party had received similar word from Mao, who was reported to have demanded an armed uprising in South Korea. But the North Korean communists are too pleased by the economic and technical advances they have made over the past 13 years to risk their destruction. On the morning of August 12, 1966, when the 11th general meeting of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party ended in confusion, having decided to push ahead with the "cultural revolution," the North Korean Labor Party reaffirmed its independence and separated itself from the radical line of Mao-Lin. Likewise, the Japanese Communist Party decided to route its party locomotive on a separate track from China's.

To Market We Go

...Like Lambs to the Slaughter

by Ed Dowling

Senator Philip Hart (D, Mich.), a little weary after his four-year struggle to reform the packaging industry, is scouting the battlefield, trying to decide whether it's worth making a fight in this Congress for grade-labeling, or even if any meaningful standards can be set up. Should the senator and other legislators decide to forego the challenge, you can give some of the credit to the food lobby.

Representing the canners, freezers, driers, millers, packagers and bottlers of edibles, that lobby recently spent close to three-quarters of a million dollars trying to prove that when products compete with each other, they get better and lead to lower food prices. The money wasn't spent on disinterested gamesmanship, but rather to reach a political goal: the suasion of a presidential commission.

In 1964, ranchers were complaining about a sudden plunge in the prices they were getting for beef. The drop was all the more disconcerting in that it was not reflected in retail beef prices, which continued high. Cattle-state congressmen agitated for an investigation and President Johnson asked Congress to set up a commission to study not just beef prices but the marketing of food in general.

No sooner had the National Commission of Food Marketing been set up than the food lobby, formally known as the Grocery Manufacturers of America, decided the moment had come to launch what food lobbyist Howard Chase has called "a monumental study of the way competition works" in the food industry. At the outset, the Grocery Manufacturers raised some $400,000 from lobby members and quickly hired the research firm of Arthur D. Little, Inc., along with a number of economic theoreticians, among them Professor Jesse W. Markham of Princeton, Dr. Charles C. Slater of Michigan State, and Professor Raymond Bauer of Harvard. Later, needing still more money to complete its *magnum opus*, the GMA put the touch on TV networks, women's magazines and members' advertising agencies – all of them dependent to some extent on food advertising – for about $225,000. The GMA was fearful the President's commission might uncover something in food marketing that, if made public, would be harmful to lobby members.

Perhaps another cause for concern was the presence on the commission of a few veteran champions of the consumer: Senator Warren Magnuson (D, Wash.); Representative Leonor K. Sullivan (D, Mo.); Elmer R. Kiehl, Dean of the College of Agriculture at the University of Missouri, and Senator Hart.

But if there were consumer protectionists on the commission, their presence was balanced by Republican Senators Thruston Morton of Kentucky and Roman Hruska of Nebraska, Democratic Representative Graham Purcell of Texas and William Batten, president of the J. C. Penney Co.

The political behavior of the remaining seven members of the commission seemed less easy to augur. If these seven commission members could be swayed, the Grocery Manufacturers of America might be able to transform the commission report into an endorsement of the status quo in the food industry.

For 18 months, from late 1964 through January 1966, the President's commission and the GMA pursued their studies independently of one another. The GMA had in mind a definite goal, which was to show how competition *works*. The Little firm went about

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making an elaborate mathematical model of the industry's structure, based on case histories of 20 products in five food categories. The case histories were supposed to demonstrate how well the products filled consumer needs. Meanwhile, according to Lobbyist Chase, professors under contract were assigned "an examination of consumer sociology," the object of which was to show how the food industry develops new products only in response to "the genuine needs of the changing character of households in our society." (An example of such a product might be Kellogg's Toast'em Pop-Ups, "a tart with delicate crust and pure fruit filling" that one drops in a toaster to warm up. The need that one assumes is being filled by the Pop-Ups is a need for something to put in a toaster other than bread.)

In a scant year-and-a-half the GMA researchers managed to come up with quite a bit. One of their surveys produced information to show that "people like food advertising better than other advertising." As long as the consumer "likes" food advertising, the hypothesis might have gone, he has no right to gripe about paying for it.

Early in 1966, the GMA turned over its fat volume of researches to Dr. G. E. Brandow, executive director of the President's commission. The GMA expressed the hope that its studies would be of some assistance.

When the food commission's first, roughly assembled draft began to circulate on Capitol Hill in the spring of 1966, it appeared that the GMA's exercise had been academic, for indeed the draft report seemed to show no influence by the GMA's massive study. Letters of protest were written by lobby officials deploring that the conclusions being drawn by the commission were contradictory to the conclusions drawn in the GMA/Little study. The GMA began circulating among its members lists of things to say to the press, the public and to politicians in eventual congressional hearings, in refutation of the commission's conclusions.

During meetings of the commission to work up a final draft for the President, members wrangled over the proposed recommendations, and out of the disputes a clear minority emerged that would not endorse the proposals made to protect the consumer. In this minority were Senator Hruska, Senator Morton, Mr. Batten, Mr. Mitchell and Representative Purcell. (The Texas Democrat made an eleventh hour attempt to take the teeth out of the report by declaring that the commission had exceeded its mandate in choosing to term its recommendations, "conclusions," and therefore had stepped outside the law.) Later this minority was joined by Rep. Catherine May (R, Wash.).

Weeks before the commission made public its report, the six dissenting members rushed out a minority report. The minority scored a public-relations coup: newspapers were running its version of the events long before any mention had been given to the report itself. In the text of the minority report – much of which was lifted verbatim from the GMA/Little study – and in the language of two other dissenting statements filed by minority members, the efforts of the GMA finally bore fruit.

Although the minority takes the majority's recommendations to task, the dissidents themselves make no proposals of any scope, other than watering down measures proposed to aid farmers.

Recommendations of the Commission

At the end of June, the National Commission on Food Marketing presented to President Johnson the final draft of its report, "Food from Farmer to Consumer." As the food lobby had feared, the report damned food advertising as wasteful, urged that food companies be stopped from becoming near monopolies, and, perhaps most radically, proposed compulsory federal grade labeling for almost all foods as a way of counteracting the immense power of brands, and thus restoring price competition. Under the commission's grade labeling scheme, the Department of Agriculture would grade all but a few foods in which hierarchies of quality cannot be established.

Since World War II, retail chains have used federal grades in buying from wholesalers. This voluntary grade system was set up to simplify procurement of food for the armies. Today, the shopper sometimes gets a glimpse of these grades on beef ("Choice" or "Prime") or on potatoes ("US No. 1"). But few chains print the grades on their store-brand processed foods, and brand manufacturers almost never do.

In the compulsory system, the top grade on every food would be "A," unlike the current system, based on century-old wholesaler usage, when top may be "Fancy" or "Extra Fancy" or "AA." ("US No. 1," for example, is second-grade potatoes; "US Fancy" is first.)

The measure would drag grades down from wholesale to retail and extend them to the gamut of processed foods, as is done in most Western countries.

Now why does such a simple proposal trouble the food processors? Because it would knock out most of their profits. Most of the big processors sell their products under two labels, their own and retailers' brands – the so-called "private labels." For example, in an A&P, a can of A&P's "private-label" peas may come from Del Monte and be part of the same batch as the peas under the Del Monte label nearby on the same shelf. Usually the private-label stuff sells for less than the national-brand stuff even when the product is identical. (The brand packer is forced to supply the retailer with the same product under the retailer's label

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because otherwise the retailer might refuse to carry the big-brand stuff.)

The private label, in such a case, is of the same grade and quality as the big brand. If both were stamped "Grade A," people would probably buy the stuff selling for less, and the price of the big brand would have to be lowered to stay in competition. The "Grade A" alone would knock the stuffing out of the advertising for the big brand. "The brands would be destroyed," said a lobbyist.

The brands may go, but the manufacturers would survive by turning out the same products and, unburdened by the heavy costs of advertising, selling them at competitive prices. Grading would bring down the prices of both the national brands and the private label goods pegged to them.

Predictably, the minority fires on the grade labeling proposal, blasting it as a "sterile notion" that would "foster static uniformity and inhibit innovation." What they mean is that grading might knock out attempts to hoke up products by trivial differentiation, such as the new six-sided French Fry ("Tasti-Fries") being put out by General Foods.

Crying *"de gustibus non disputandum,"* the dissidents claim the grading won't work because grades are necessarily subjective. As evidence that compulsory grade labeling is impracticable, the minority cites the famous applesauce case, dear to the hearts of brand advertisers. In 1959 Cornell surveyed how a number of people liked applesauces graded by the Department of Agriculture. Most of them preferred Grade C to Grades A or B. This finding the minority interprets as *a priori* demonstration of the impossibility of fixing grades in accordance to popular tastes. But back in the forties, when Agriculture set up its applesauce grades, it sampled consumer preferences to ascertain what should be Grade A. And brand manufacturers themselves use similar tests in developing their recipes.

If grade labeling goes into effect, it won't have much bite if people aren't told about it. Unless grades are publicized by the government, it's unlikely that brand advertisers will feature them in their ads. (Retail advertising is another matter. Some chains use the voluntary grades to spur sales of their private-label goods: Last summer, A&P, foreshadowing consumer awareness of grade labeling, ran an ad campaign stressing that its own brands are all "Grade A.")

To tell consumers about grades and about how to shop economically, the commission urges that government set up a consumer agency as an executive department. (Similar proposals have been advanced from other quarters, notably from the President's Consumer Advisory Council, headed by Mrs. Esther Peterson. Donald Turner, head of the antitrust division of the Department of Justice, has proposed government testing of consumer products, akin to the work performed by Consumers Union and Consumer Research, two private, nonprofit bodies.)

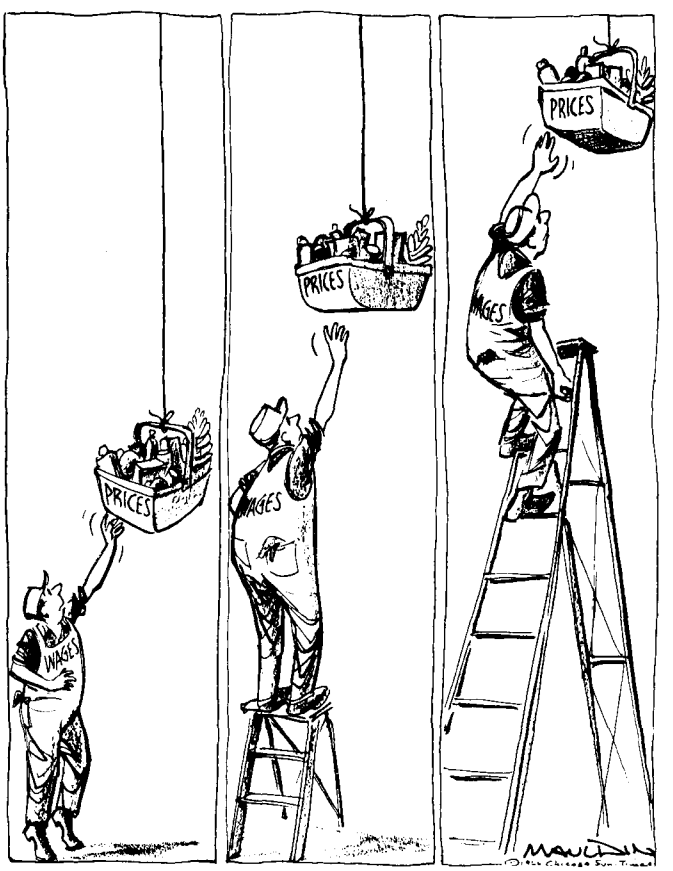
Senator Hruska lambasted the consumer agency proposal, saying that "no consumer cataclysm demands the erection of another executive department to give home-to-market care to 200 million Americans."

But even with a system as rational as compulsory grading promises to be, and with a government department to make it effective, the charisma of the established brands will be difficult to dispel.

An advertising agency was dismayed to find in a recent survey that the average adult can only remember some 1,800 brand names "in unaided recall." Belief in brands has been promulgated as a kind of lay religion. A Boston housewife was reported by *The New York Times* as saying, "As prices go up, I don't go into cheaper brands, I just buy less."

Although the value of a brand exists only in the minds of consumers disposed to buy it, the brand-owners count on consumer credulity in brands as if it were money in the bank. Witness, for example, what was claimed in a recent Supreme Court case: Borden *vs* FTC.

The case arose when two Ohio retail chains complained to the FTC that Borden refused to sell them



Frustration

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private-label stuff. However, the dairy company chose to argue that although it supplies the same condensed milk for private labels as is sold under its own brand, the stuff carrying the Borden brand could legally go to retailers at a higher price because "consumer acceptance" of the Borden brand makes it worth more than physically identical milk under a private label. (In other words, the brand is worth whatever the consumer is willing to pay for it.)

The Supreme Court ruled last March that the Borden's brand adds no value to the condensed milk. (The decision caused ululation along Madison Avenue.) But if brands have no real economic worth, they continue to have an almost mystical significance for many. A beer baron once said of his brew, "The customer imbibes the image." And so it is with food.

Among those who find such images most palatable are the poor. A food industry spokesman remarked in an unguarded moment that "the poor put more faith in brands than does the rest of the population." Possibly food brands are status symbols for poor families who would be better off buying private label.

In a decrepit neighborhood in Brooklyn the most popular item in a small mom & pop store was a national brand of dog food. Upon inquiry it turned out that dog food was a mainstay of the local indigents. One wonders whether they would have bought the stuff had they not seen it continually advertised on their TV sets.

The National Commission on Food Marketing found that poor people pay more for food because they shop in mom & pop stores, (supermarkets are fewer per population density in slums than in neighborhoods above the poverty line) and because they buy in small quantities, missing out on whatever savings are possible with the "large, economy" sizes.

Respectably enough, the food lobby suggests the poor be taught how to buy economically. Such instruction has yet to appear in the ads.

The Price Rigger: Advertising

Last spring, food prices for the first time in the US attained the distinction of leading the inflationary movement, in a reversal of what happens in classic inflationary patterns where food lags far to the rear. The food prices in the Consumer Price Index had climbed by 6.2 percent in a year, twice the rise of the overall CPI. Since last summer, as the general inflation has gone from trot to canter, food prices have begun to fall behind the classic indicia. Momentarily the curve of food prices seems less steep, but their upward spending movement is bound to continue; accelerated price rise is now built into the structure of food distribution, independently of flood, glut or famine.

The Food Marketing Commission points out that the excessive cost of advertising and other forms of promotion is the chief cause for the rise in food prices. In the past two decades the amount spent by food processors on advertising alone has quadrupled, while total food sales only doubled.

Last year the processors spent more than $2 billion on ads. Another billion was spent on merchandising, retail advertising, premiums and push-money (bribes to store clerks), and yet another billion on that part of packaging which should be accounted advertising. (Over $5 billion a year is spent on food packaging.)

Food advertising has swollen to such a volume that it has virtually eliminated price competition. It pushes retail prices continually upward. Instead of competing through price, food processors compete through advertising, and food retailers compete through showmanship, trading stamps, free parking and Muzak.

As if in echo of the Supreme Court's decision in the Borden case, the NCFM stresses that promotion adds nothing of value to the product. The consumer pays higher prices as a result of it, and yet gets nothing in return other than free TV shows and the like. The NCFM found that in 1964 the 22 largest food manufacturers spent an average of 16.3 percent of sales on advertising, with four of them – all breakfast cereal processors – spending around 20 percent. (On new products, promotion costs may *exceed* sales for the first year or so in the marketplace.)

Before the publication of the NCFM report, no government body had ever put the finger on advertising as a cause of jacked-up prices.

Advertisers talk about the need to spend enough to pitch their ads above the "noise level," the general din resulting from the heavy volume of all advertising. Whenever a new product is launched the noise level rises, and with it, prices, as competitors increase their spieling to shout down the newcomer. Up through the din the prices rise, behind a smokescreen of "specials," cents-off deals, and two-fers – momentary illusions all. (If a retailer loses a cent on a special, he recoups it by raising prices on non-specialed items.) Competing through advertising, and thus burdened with excessive promotion costs, manufacturers and retailers forswear undercutting their competitors.

As if in anticipation of the commission's charges, the Grocery Manufacturers had ready a theory elaborated by one of its consultants, Robert D. Buzzell of Harvard, attempting to show that in the "life-cycle" of a product, advertising paves the way for price competition. According to Buzzell, whenever a heavily advertised new product succeeds in the marketplace, small processors and retail chains rush out imitations. By getting a free ride on the advertising already done by the innovator, the coattailers can sell their knock-offs

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for less, or so the theory goes. In practice, though, the coattailer usually pegs his price only a notch or two below what the original is fetching.

Professor Buzzell goes on to claim that promotion costs are not excessive in the long run, since once a new product succeeds, the heavy advertising expenditures of the introductory period ("Phase I") are trimmed and the price comes down proportionately ("Phase II").

The President's commission states flatly that Phase II is seldom reached. Price competition rarely comes into play and retail prices stay high. Whatever money has been spent promoting a new product has primed a pump for high markup and high profits throughout the product's lifetime.

Spinning wobbly in the wheelhouse of Buzzell's tinker-toy model is the battered old prayer wheel of admen, the claim that advertising is the *primum mobile* of the economy, that without the demand it stimulates mass production would be impossible, jobs fewer, unit costs higher and buying power lower.

There was a time when the price-lowering claim often held true. But that was earlier in the century, when advertising expenditures were a fraction of what they are today, and when the deluge of new products had not yet begun.

Yet, in the face of multiplying advertising expenditures, pro bono publicists continue to maintain that want-creation is responsible for the vaunted American standard of living, forgetting that SOL is an expression of what wages and salaries will buy. In food, at least, the rising prices resulting from hopped-up advertising tend to *depress* the SOL, since wages lag behind.

To bolster the standard-of-living claim, the Grocery Manufacturers association boasts that Americans spend only 18 percent of their income for food, down from 23 percent in 1939. As General Foods president C. W. Cook preened in a statement to *Business Week* magazine, "We must be doing something right."

Although this statistic is indeed evidence of a rising standard of living, it is not, as the President's commission points out, "evidence of superior performance by the food industry." It's axiomatic in economics that the greater the prosperity, the less the share of income spent for food. In fact, it's surprising so much is still being spent on food. In some measure this may reflect substitution of steak for potatoes, but it may also reveal the ingenuity of food processors in wringing a number of wants out of a necessity (food).

Want-creation is responsible for raising the prices of *all* food products. For example, a retail chain figures it can make more money on processed foods than it can on raw produce, so it limits the variety and quantity of raw stuff it will carry. As a result, the cost of the produce goes up.

No economist seriously opposes the fact that in today's economy wants are created by manufacturers who hope to satisfy the wants they create. Yet the food lobby piously claims that new products are "developed in response to consumer needs" as ascertained by market research. (In addition to sounding out markets for new products, it is also the task of "market research" to find ways to overcome any consumer resistance to a product a company has decided to launch.)

Profit possibilities are much higher on new products than they are on the old. Kellogg's Applejacks, a cinnamon-flavored corn cereal, sells for more than twice as much per ounce as Kellogg's Corn Flakes.

As a result of marketing new products – even more fanciful, more highly processed, and more remote from basic food – profits of the large food companies have been rising through the past decade at the rate of 7.3 percent a year.

The market for staples, plain old peas and potatoes, is fairly saturated, growing only in relation to population gain. Companies could, of course, hang on in business by simply supplying the growing population. But to make the *big* money and pump up ever higher profits, they twist out new products.

In the food-processing industry, the failure rate for new products is half what it is in all other industries.

The Big Grow Bigger

It's part of the contemporary American credo that big corporations are more efficient than small ones, that they can make and sell their products for less. However it may be with heavy industry, this assumption does not hold true in the food industry, where, as the commission report points out, there are no further economies-of-scale to be realized once a company has reached middling size. Yet processors in several food fields are well on the way to monopoly. Campbell Soups, with some 95 percent of the sales of prepared soups, is already there. Borden and National Dairy (Kraft) together sell most of the processed cheese; National Dairy and Corn Products together sell most of the salad dressing; four companies – Kellogg, General Foods, General Mills, Quaker Oats – sell over 85 percent of the breakfast cereals. Even in fields where monopoly is a distant prospect, as in "crackers and cookies" or in potato chips, the number of firms is shrinking as big corporations take over or merge with other food processors. Worse, some conglomerate firms – like National Dairy or General Foods – acquire quasi-monopolistic positions in a number of food fields.

The high costs of advertising and the problems of getting good distribution are central factors in the push toward merger. Small companies can't afford the costs of advertising on television and in other media,

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and without such coverage they find it difficult to persuade retailers to give them the distribution and favorable shelf space they need.

Big advertisers, on the other hand, get volume discounts from the media, and so spend less per pitch. The bigger the advertiser the more shelf space he can command from retailers. Once an advertiser has attained wide distribution he's fairly sure of shelf space for the products of any food company he happens to buy up – as long, of course, as he keeps up his advertising.

Thus, advertising helps put weight on those who are already fat, while trimming down the number of firms able to survive in competition. The fewer the survivors, the more remote any possibility of price competition.

For this reason, the National Commission on Food Marketing urges that a halt be called on mergers or acquisitions involving companies that are already "dominant" in a particular food field. "Dominance," by the commission's rule of thumb, exists if a company is one of four or fewer having half the sales in any one food field. (The criterion is clearly met in the breakfast cereals industry, where four companies do 85 percent of the business.)

To make it easier to determine who's dominant, the NCFM proposes that companies be required to report sales on each of their product lines. The minority insists that with modern accounting methods, any sort of product-by-product report on sales is impracticable. (It also protests that publication of such information would aid a company's competitors.)

To prevent oligopoly from becoming monopoly, the commission wants the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Justice, in line with the Clayton Antitrust Act, to issue cease-and-desist orders on any mergers or acquisitions by dominant firms.

The Theory of "Substitutability"

The Grocery Manufacturers declare that sales figures are no measure of monopoly, or oligopoly, or dominance. They argue that every food product competes against all other food products for the consumer's food dollar: *i.e.*, if one company sells 99 percent of the canned soup in the US it's still far from monopoly because the soup competes against every other existing foodstuff. The lobby calls this notion, "substitutability." If a housewife wants to serve ice cream for dessert and finds the price too high, she can, according to the theory of "substitutability," buy pie or cookies or cake, instead. (This is rather like saying that if you're in the market for a new car and find the prices too high, you can always go out and buy yourself a bicycle.)

As evidence that high concentration doesn't exist in the food industry, the minority report points to the fact that the four biggest companies (General Foods, National Dairy, Campbell's Soup and Corn Products) had altogether only 6.1 percent of the total food sales in the US in 1963. (Sales for these companies came to $4.7 billion, out of a total of $77 billion that year.)

After examining the figures on *processed* foods for that year, however, the President's commission pointed out that the four biggest companies did over a third of the $11 billion business. (Even were this not so, the minority sidesteps the commission's point, which is to find out how much of the soup sold is Campbell's, how much of the processed cheese is National Dairy's [Kraft] and so on.)

There's a general anxiety throughout the country over what may be causing higher food prices and who's to blame for them. Milk distributors charged with collusion blame dairy farmers and drought. California fruit growers blame the jump in produce prices on the government's ban on *bracero* labor. Hugh Marius, assistant commissioner of markets in New York, attributes the higher food prices in slums to exploiters of the poor and ignorant. Some misguided urban politicians continue to point the finger at government farm policy and price supports.

The Secretary of Agriculture believes the fault for the rise in food prices lies not with the farmer but with the middleman. Mr. Freeman has read the commission's report. "Someone is profiteering along the line," he said, when he asked the Federal Trade Commission to look into the matter of food prices.

Such an investigation may seem superfluous in view of the voluminous evidence already assembled by the National Commission on Food Marketing. However, the press has been curiously silent on the NCFM report, although it has been accessible since early July. *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* have duly noted the fact that the report was submitted to the President, but along with other media they've forborne to make public its contents, even when alarms over high food prices were page-one stories. Eleven volumes of evidence supporting the proposals in "Food From Farmer to Consumer" came off the presses of the US Government Printing Office. The findings were ignored by the news media, although the documents were in demand in advertising and food-marketing circles. Yet the commission's findings and the proposals based on them are an arsenal for any legislator looking for what Washington calls a "people issue," one that transcends party lines. But if a champion of the consumer comes forth to pick up the cudgels, he had better be stalwart. Opposition from the food lobby promises to be intense. Enlisted in the defense of the big food brands is the advertising business – in toto and wholeheartedly, along with its handmaidens, the mass media.

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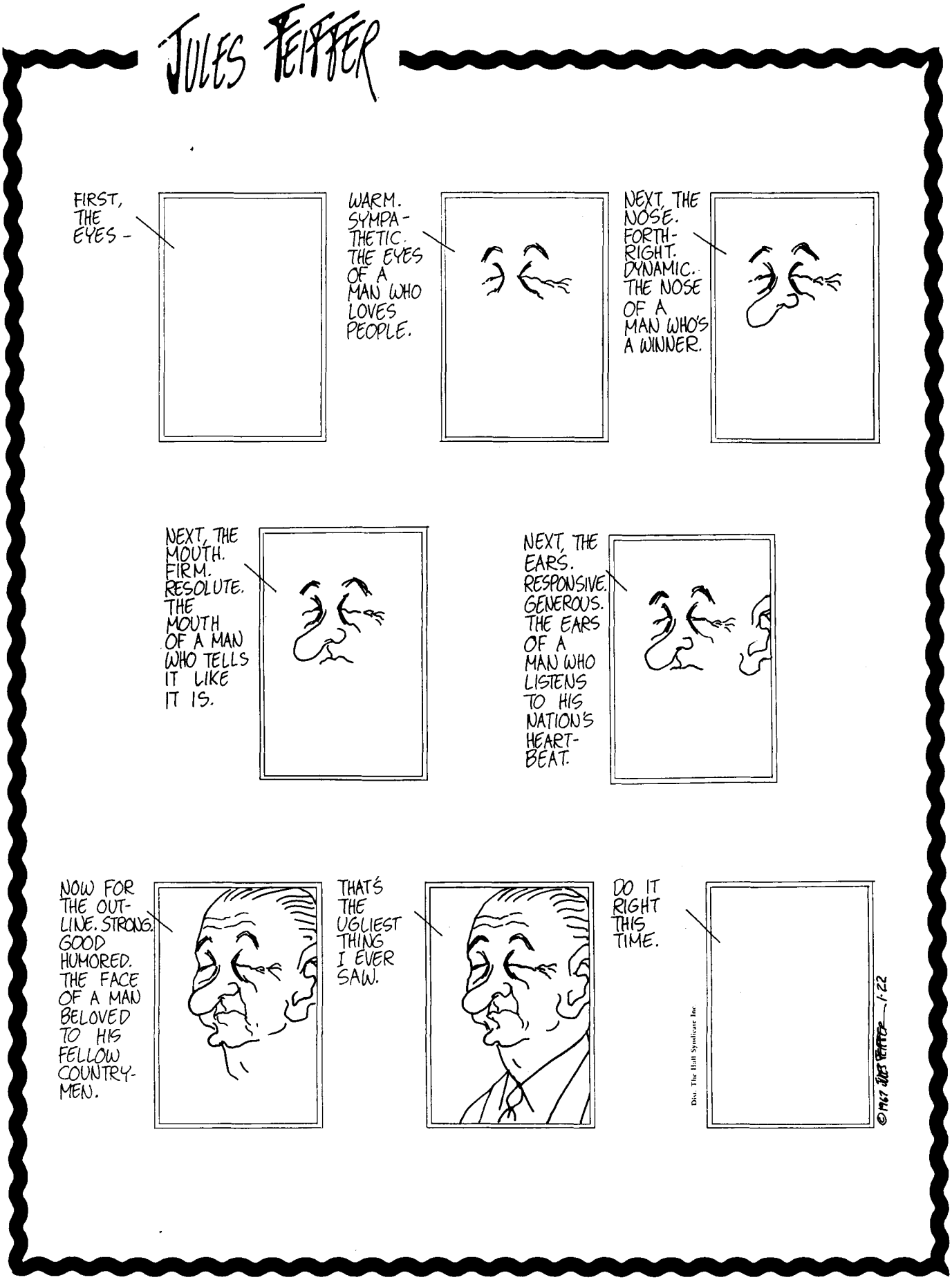
JULES FEIFFER


FIRST, THE EYES -
WARM. SYMPA-THETIC. THE EYES OF A MAN WHO LOVES PEOPLE.
NEXT, THE NOSE. FORTH-RIGHT. DYNAMIC. THE NOSE OF A MAN WHO'S A WINNER.
NEXT, THE MOUTH. FIRM. RESOLUTE. THE MOUTH OF A MAN WHO TELLS IT LIKE IT IS.
NEXT, THE EARS. RESPONSIVE. GENEROUS. THE EARS OF A MAN WHO LISTENS TO HIS NATION'S HEART-BEAT.
NOW FOR THE OUT-LINE. STRONG. GOOD HUMORED. THE FACE OF A MAN BELOVED TO HIS FELLOW COUNTRY-MEN.
THAT'S THE UGLIEST THING I EVER SAW.
DO IT RIGHT THIS TIME.
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STANLEY KAUFFMANN *The Young in Head*

Time has just chosen the Young Generation as its figurative Man of the Year. I am not, by some 25 years, a member of that generation, defined by *Time* as 25 and under. In some ways I am sorry. In several ways I do not claim to "understand" the Young Generation, which makes me something of an exception among *my* generation. I do not even claim to remember what it was like to be young, which is probably the biggest self-delusion on this subject among my contemporaries. It is almost impossible to remember how it feels to be young, although many of us think that we do. And even if one could remember it, the remembrance would be irrelevant: because being young in the thirties was enormously different from being young today. We are told, with awe, that today half the population is Young. My point is that half the population is not. The focus of these remarks is not the Young but the (shall we say) Non-Young.

A good deal of the Young Generation's behavior is admirable and promising, much of it is at least comprehensible, and most of it is preferable to the torpor that prevailed in the Eisenhower years. My concern is with those who are more or less my contemporaries; with their attitudes toward the junior generation. To a considerable and dangerous degree, they have become bootlickers of the young.

Time is, in matters of this kind, always a follower, never a pioneer; and its election of the young can be taken as confirmation of prevailing attitudes. At the base of these attitudes is an assumption that what is Young is good, true, pure, and hopeful; what is Non-Young is tainted, false, impure, and hopeless. This is a perennial American literary myth in ridiculous extreme – J. D. Salingerism exalted to a creed. To subscribe to it is an act of disbelief in young people's qualities because it implies that only lack of years has kept them as pure as they are and that time will inevitably corrupt them. I cannot accept this inevitability for all of the Young any more than I accept 1942 as the watershed birth-year that separates the spotted from the as yet unspotted. But it is not the Young's future that is here in question, it is the Non-Young's present.

Symbolic suicide in early maturity has a long history in the American social system. For decades, millions of varyingly ambitious young people have married and have soon allowed the routines of compromise to replace their best ambitions so that they might support families; and they have shifted responsibility to their children with some variation of the phrase: "They're going to get the chances that I never had." What this seeming self-sacrifice often meant in effect was: "The hell with struggling. I'll float. Let someone else – my children, for example – fight the currents."

That particular sort of youth-worship, or youth-burdening, has become less prevalent as opportunities increased for young people, as fewer young people had to give up either hopes for education or risk-taking in careers in order to marry and support families. Now it is not responsibility for worldly advancement that is transferred to the Young, because the parents themselves are often educated and/or affluent. Now the transfer is a more recognizably moral delegation, an acceptance of the Young's charge that "we" have made a mess of things. *Time* quotes one young man as saying:

> "Look at you, brainwashing a whole generation of kids into getting a revolving charge account and buying your junk. . . . Look at you, needing a couple of stiff drinks before you have the guts to talk with another human being. Look at you, making it with your neighbor's wife just to prove that you're really alive. Look at you, screwing up the land and the water and the air for profit, and calling this nowhere scene the Great Society! And you're gonna tell us how to live? C'mon, man, you've got to be kidding!"

How we, the Non-Young, love it. How good it makes us feel that the Young despise us, that they are taking over, that we can resign our responsibilities, deny our experience, subordinate our judgment, and feel nobly guilty about the whole process.

Shall this unhistorical and somewhat infantile indictment by the Young be answered? Well, then, to accept it at even face value: if the first half of the 20th century produced nuclear weaponry, spoilage of natural resources, "dehumanized" society, and Auschwitz, it also produced technologies and altered social conditions that enormously improved the living conditions and life expectancy of millions (and of billions to come). The "dehumanization" of society may prove to be part of a painful transition from oppressive inherited theologies to a more rational existence. As for Auschwitz, it is only in quantity, not kind, that it exceeds the horrors with which history is freighted; and the general moral reaction to Auschwitz (and latterly to Hiroshima) is more widespread than it would have been at any previous time in history.

But to answer the indictment is to accept it; and it is that acceptance which I question. That frantic acceptance by my contemporaries, consciously or not, has had secondary effects of primary importance in several fields.

In education, it has made the "student revolt" a fashion and a spectator sport. I do *not* dispute the justice of many student complaints at various colleges and universities. I dispute the irresponsibility of the tendency in the Non-Young to approve student protests simply *because* the students protest, a tendency to encourage an implicit false analogy: that in general the relation of students to faculty and administration is cognate to that between workers and bosses, that a strike is a strike, period.

Without scanting the justice in a number of student complaints, I suggest the possibility that a false equality is frequently assumed between students and faculty. The basic reason that students go to college is that they are *not* the equals – in anything ex-

(Continued on page 38)

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A Bullitt To Wilson

by Robert Coles

"For about him at the very end were still
Those he had studied, the nervous and the nights,
And shades that still waited to enter
The bright circle of his recognition
Turned elsewhere with their disappointment. . . ."

Auden's tribute captures the hungry impatience of Freud's mind, even in the final, weary years of a ninth decade of life. He wrote steadily despite the constant pain of cancer, and if anything, much of his writing became more pointed, self-critical and ironic. He repeated in his essay on Dostoevsky (1928) what he had said earlier (1910) in his ill-fated analysis of Leonardo da Vinci: "Before the problem of the creative artist, analysis must, alas, lay down its arms." In his public exchange of letters with Einstein (1932) he referred to "our mythological theory of instincts," and toward the end of his attempt to discuss the causes of war he had this to say: "The result, as you see, is not very fruitful when an unworldly theoretician is called in to advise on an urgent practical problem."

Thomas Woodrow Wilson: Twenty-eighth President of the United States
A Psychological Study
by Sigmund Freud and William C. Bullitt
(Houghton Mifflin; $6)

Freud possessed the modesty of one who never for a moment doubted the essential and unique significance of his lifework. Perhaps it was such inner confidence that enabled him to present even his most complicated ideas in strong and unpretentious prose, the apparently effortless outpourings of a rich and candid mind. In *Moses and Monotheism*, one of his most speculative and I think least substantial works, he talks about "the labored, poor, and patchy attempts at explanation which are the best we can produce." He insists that the reader know how many "enigmas" have not been solved by psychoanalysis, and he characterizes his own efforts as "a simple contribution." Whether he was pursuing a biblical figure like Moses, artists like Leonardo or Michelangelo, or a writer like Dostoevsky, he was careful to be a courteous observer. Writing of "the trivial peculiarities and riddles" of Leonardo da Vinci's nature Freud said:

> "We respect him by learning from him. It does no injury to his greatness to study the sacrifices which his development from the child must have entailed. . . . Let us expressly emphasize that we have never considered Leonardo as a neurotic or as a 'nervous person' in the sense of this awkward term. . . . We no longer believe that health and disease, normal and nervous are sharply distinguished from one another. . . . We know today that neurotic symptoms are substitutive formations for certain repressive acts . . . that we all produce such substitutive formations, and that only the amount, interests and distribution of these substitutive formations justify the practical conception of illness. . . ."

It must be admitted that not all psychiatrists have read and understood the man who wrote those words – in 1914. Certainly an idolatrous American public has found in psychiatry a suitably pagan and pleasantly self-centered form of religion, with all kinds of hazy and swell virtues – things like "maturity" or "mental health" – pitted against an expanding array of vices like "acting-out" or "hostility," many of them turned into the purest of epithets even by so-called "professionals." Yet Freud had no such outcome in mind for his work, though it is clear from passages like the one just quoted that he knew as always how much stupidity and malice one could safely take for granted – among one's admiring colleagues as well as elsewhere. A man in constant pursuit of reason, he never allowed what he found to make him self-important or indeed very hopeful about finding a way to end man's mental suffering.

It seems now that we all will have to look once again at both Freud's ideas and the way he gave expression to them. Twenty-eight years after his death a book has been published under his name. With the former diplomat William C. Bullitt he is listed as co-author of a "psychological study" of Woodrow Wilson. According to Bullitt each of them "criticized, amended or rewrote the other's draft until the whole became an amalgam" for which both of them are responsible. Apparently they did not have an easy time of it ("both Freud and I were stubborn, and our beliefs were dissimilar"), so that in 1932 when their collaboration had resulted in a manuscript they could not come to terms with one another. ("After general arguments we decided to forget the book for three weeks and to attempt then to agree. When we met, we continued to disagree.")

Six years later Bullitt, then America's ambassador to France, met Freud in Paris on his way into exile from the Nazis. It was an exile Bullitt had very much helped to arrange, and one for which Freud had every reason to be grateful. Relatives of his would soon be marched to gas ovens. In Bullitt's words: "I met him at the railroad station . . . and suggested that we might discuss our book once more after he was settled in London." To the ambassador's (surprised?) delight Freud agreed to take out various sections he had written. It was agreed that the "study" would be published after Wilson's widow died – with the guar-

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antee that Freud's name would command for it widespread attention.

The book can either be considered a mischievous and preposterous joke, a sort of caricature of the worst that has come from psychoanalytic ideologues, or else an awful and unrelenting slander upon a remarkably gifted American President. I fear it is meant to be the latter, a serious, vindictive effort that unhesitatingly takes the complicated life of a very unusual man and reduces it to a few "explanations" – which in fact tell us much less about Wilson than the man or men who wrote this book. I would add right here that in my opinion it is overwhelmingly Bullitt's work: the style, the use of words, the content, the tone, everything is unfamiliar. If this is Freud, it is a thoroughly new and different Freud – certainly not the gifted writer and compassionate man hailed on his 80th birthday by Thomas Mann's essay, "Freud and the Future."

Only a few pages are Freud's alone, and they contain a revealing introduction in which the European doctor (whose country lost to America and her allies in 1918) frankly admits the distrust he and his countrymen felt toward Wilson. Yet he claims to have lost some of that feeling during the study: "A measure of sympathy developed; but sympathy of a special sort mixed with pity . . . so overwhelming that it conquered every other emotion." He pointedly asks the reader not to dismiss the book as "a product of prejudice," and goes on to say that his initial feelings against Wilson were eventually put under "thorough subjugation." He then, for some reason, has to promise the same for Bullitt, justifying at least on this occasion another line from the poem Auden wrote after Freud's death:

> "If often he was wrong and at times
> absurd,
> To us he is no more a person
> Now but a whole climate of opinion."

This book certainly adds drizzle to that "climate." It is appallingly easy to summarize: Wilson had a very strong and affectionate father, to whom he was unusually close, so that his entire life was dominated by the reenactment again and again of that complicated and intense relationship. Wilson's friends, his marriage, his career, and his behavior in the course of that career must be examined under that one light – generated by a son's particularly strong love for his father, his secret hate for him, and his endless loyalty to both of those feelings. If only the Princeton faculty, Colonel House, the Kaiser, Senator Lodge, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Orlando, and many others could have been told how utterly irrelevant they or the causes they represented were to Presi-

On a Child Burned to Death in Vietnam

This is a child that was burned by napalm that fell down
on her village out of a clear sky at evening
It fell as freely as the manna that is said to have fallen
from heaven on the Israelites perplexed in the desert
The analogy is of course incorrect for manna is said to nourish
both spirit and flesh and is believed to come from Jehovah
whereas napalm burns at 1200° Fahrenheit and sticks to the
skin which it causes to melt or to turn to an ashy and brittle
crust And it is known to come from America

Here then Look at the child where she lies still on a cot
in a hot ramshackle hospital long on good will devoid of supplies
Her mother beside her is waving a sheet of tired newsprint
as though waving farewell and farewell She is trying to keep off
the flies The child's eyes are brown they stare straight up It took
20 hours to get her here to lie on this cot with nothing but pity
to help her No antibiotics no plasma nothing but vaseline jelly
The flesh of her chin has flowed down on her chest her mouth
is unable to close Her still body

is pitted and raked like the moon's face or a cold battlefield
after the guns Yes her father was killed It is clear she too will
die before long The spokesmen hired to express official
regret promise inquiries and recite the usual quote from General
Sherman will then pay the widow a condolence payment or is it
a prize of 66 dollars in Vietnamese money Not what you might call
an assessed valuation but a gesture literally profane
" 'Imagine' said Ivan 'that you are creating a fabric of human
destiny with the object of making men

happy in the end but that it was necessary and inevitable
to torture to death only one tiny creature and to found that edifice on its unavenged tears Would you consent to be the architect
on those conditions Tell me and tell the truth' 'No
I wouldn't consent' said Alyosha softly" But the American people
consent If not actively then by default with silence if not in
words out of ignorance apathy self-love and fear Compassion
and courage in danger of being drowned in the warm oil
of consent the consent of Americans

neither quiet nor ugly just drifting who watch at eleven in their
ghost living rooms the exciting war films from Vietnam
8000 light years away and consent to the death of the child for
These people must be burned to be saved from the Communist heresy
And wait through the newscast with opium eyes for the weather
magician to come on with glass map horn-rims and chalk-talk
to tell what they "truly desire to know" which is that it will be
sunny and warmer on Sunday the high in the 40's and only a 10% chance
of rain falling down from the sky

Rudolph von Abele

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dent Wilson, who throughout this "objective" study is called Tommy or "little Tommy."

That is the message of the book, though the way it is presented requires an amused or disgusted look, depending I suppose on how seriously you take the whole business. In Bullitt's "digest of data" (supposedly prepared for Freud's enlightenment) Wilson is called "a prig, but a prime prig." We are told that "Tommy Wilson never had a fist fight in his life." Later on, when Wilson's marriage comes up, Bullitt says: "He could rest on her shoulder with as complete confidence as ever he had had as an infant sleeping on the breast of his mother." When his wife died he had to marry again because "he could not do without a woman on whose breast he could rest." Moreover, at college he sang and debated, and later became a gifted orator, as a result of which Bullitt concludes: "His pleasures were all connected with the use of his mouth."

Then comes the study proper, to which Freud's name is attached. There is talk of libido charging psychic "apparatus," and we find that "libido begins to charge three accumulators: narcissism, masculinity and femininity." A few pages later we hear about "a dam of repression" that builds up until it is "too strong for the insulator." Lest we get the idea that Wilson is the only subject fit for this kind of psychoanalytic study the following is stated: "Unsatisfied desires of the libido sublimated produce all art and literature. Human society itself is held together by sublimated libido, the passivity of the boy to his father transforming itself into love of his fellow men and desire to serve mankind." (Those who up to now thought talent had something to do with writing or painting, and social, political and economic institutions with making up and keeping together a society, will realize how naïve they have been.)

Since Woodrow Wilson's father was a minister, then of course "Tommy Wilson found his supreme expression in sermons from a pulpit which was the White House." (Wilson also had a mother, but she could only cause the same old trouble: "He, like all other men, had a mother identification and through it a portion of his passivity to his father found outlet.") Since Wilson

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loved and venerated his father, it follows that he "established this father-God as his Super Ego" and then "identified himself with the Only Begotten Son of God." It also follows that the Wilson who didn't fight as a child and who fancied himself as Christ could not later take on the British and French at Versailles, though he saw the result of his effort at that conference as successful because he had "to remain in his own belief the Savior of the World." There was an un-Christian fight with the French President, Poincaré, but that can easily be explained: "The libido insulated in his reaction-formation against his passivity to his father had been without outlet and had reached such a pitch of intensity that it had to break out against someone." When Wilson and Poincaré settled their differences here is why: "Then in the end Wilson submitted to Poincaré, and the charge of mingled libido and Death Instinct was again without outlet and remained repressed, awaiting Lodge."

That is about enough; if 307 pages of such talk seem inviting, the book awaits you. Like a Greek Chorus there are periodic chants containing words like "libido," "outlet," "passivity," "cannibalistic identification," "conduit." ("We have seen that submission to God and unconscious identification with Christ were the only two large conduits for his passivity to his father through which his libido was still able to run freely.") Perhaps the manuscript will be of interest to hydraulic engineers.

Meanwhile those of us who every day fall back upon Freud's observations, who know from clinical experience what and how much he discovered, have to face the harm this book will do. The many who keep looking for excuses to condemn psychoanalysis will have good cause for excitement. Historians and political scientists will be made nervous or freshly skeptical; they know that somehow the private lives and problems of leaders do indeed influence world events, but they will certainly wonder whether they need the kind of vitriol, the pitiless and sinister character assassination this book provides. Nor will the more narrow and cliquish elements in psychiatry and psychoanalysis be jolted out of their tiresome and pedantic arrogance by this demonstration of what can be done when a man's life, his social background, his religious faith, his values and ideals are ripped out of context and subordinated to the workings of a single-minded, mechanistic, conceptual scheme – and one that all too many use as a weapon of cheap gossip or sly innuendo.

I suppose that a while back the kind of "data" Bullitt prepared on Wilson frightened a generation of intellectuals into submissive enthusiasm. Today it is likely that this book will be greeted by laughs or indifference, though I hope it will in addition evoke a respectful second look at what the best of psychoanalysis has recently been able to accomplish. A theory of psychopathology has been converted by analysts like Anna Freud into a flexible body of knowledge that increasingly concerns itself with normal growth and development and does so by relying on direct observation rather than metapsychological speculation. A number of leading analysts have stopped looking for those categorical childhood analogues that once were mobilized at the sight of everything done by anyone over five; instead, emphasis is put upon the mind's (non-neurotic or "conflict-free") intellectual development, as well as the social and cultural influences that constantly shape our thoughts and feelings. Years before the recent civil rights struggle analysts like Viola Bernard worked with Negroes and wrote sensitively and with proper ambiguity of the challenge they present to white psychiatrists. There is, finally, the psychoanalytic work of Erik Erikson, far too rich and extensive to be summarized in a passing comment, but all of it particularly alert to the relationship between gifted men and the moment of history they in various ways dominate. In *Young Man Luther*, subtitled "a study of psychoanalysis and history," Erikson showed how the clinician can enlarge his own vision and make extremely suggestive contributions to historians – if he will only immerse himself in the times as well as the life of the particular person he is studying.

All this has to be said and emphasized because this book on Wilson – with its meanness and antique thinking – is in a class by itself; and should be so judged. If, as Goethe said, "The greatest man is always linked to his own century through some weakness," then the weakness of Freud that makes him today a man of the 19th century was the uncritical faith he put in the uses and imagery of science. Perhaps he also trusted some of his friends too much – because it can be argued that William Bullitt's twisted vendetta against Woodrow Wilson may actually be an underhanded assault on psychoanalysis and Sigmund Freud.

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Rudolph von Abele, *a professor of English at American University, is the author of a recent novel,* The Party. Stephen Spender *will be spending the spring at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Wesleyan University.* Robert Brustein's *book* Seasons of Discontent *will soon be reissued in a paperback edition.*

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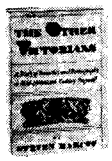

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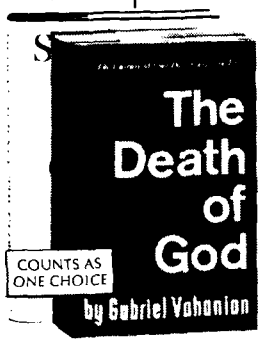

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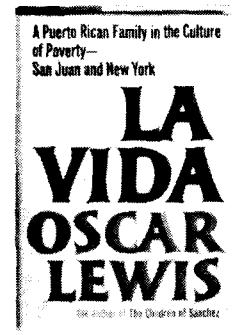

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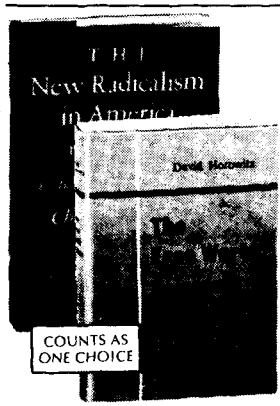

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The Brilliant Mr. MacNeice

by Stephen Spender

"Brilliant" was I suppose the epithet inevitably applied to Louis MacNeice by his contemporaries at Marlborough School and Oxford University. In his case it is especially suitable because it suggests a somewhat opaque surface shining, but also concealing. The question which one asked oneself with MacNeice was what went on fathoms below and perhaps also many miles above this surface. It is a question which perhaps haunted him too, for one of his metaphors is of the iceberg, a third above and two-thirds below the surface. A surface, let me emphasize, does not necessarily have to be superficial. It has texture, radiates light, but all the same provokes questions.

The Strings are False
by Louis MacNeice
(Oxford; $9.75)

In his personal relations, the opacity of surface resulted in many people finding MacNeice aloof, disdainful, detached and cold. He had a way of leaning back and gazing at one through half-closed eyes which scarcely covered a mocking glance. Secrets he surmised about oneself he did not intend to share, the glance said. They were for his notebook, which might be a long poem kept from day to day – *Autumn Journal* – or an autobiographical sketch written long after the event, but sharply remembered – *The Strings are False*. In his reminiscences even of a friend as close to him as Auden, there are patches of reserve which read like ice that has not melted in the surrounding pool of quite genuine admiration and affection.

That this detachment of MacNeice's was noticeable enough is notorious. A famous occasion at which I happened to be present was when, late in the war, Archibald Clerk-Kerr (later Lord Inverchapel) the British Ambassador at Moscow, returning to London for a visit attended a party given by John Lehman for the young English poets of the thirties and forties. Throughout the party MacNeice, holding a glass in his hand, leaned against a piece of furniture, and gazed around him disdainfully, without addressing a word to anyone. Finally Clerk-Kerr went up to him and told him there was a matter about which he would like to be informed. Did MacNeice come from the Northern coast of Ireland? MacNeice acknowledged that he did. "Ah," said Clerk-Kerr, "well that corroborates a legend I heard in my youth that a school of seals had landed on that part of the coast, cohabited with the natives, and produced a special race, half-seal, half-human." MacNeice did look a bit taken aback, as Clerk-Kerr left the room.

One has to take it though that this reserve was essential to MacNeice's integrity, which was great. The reader of *The Strings are False* can see also that it was compensated by an appreciation of his friends' good qualities which he probably could not communicate to them, a genuine concern to form just estimates of others, and a total lack of malice. All the same, it is difficult to read his account of his relationship with Mariette, his first wife, without getting the impression of the extremely cold eye with which he judged her throughout, as fiancée and bride. He seems at pains to show that he was completely conscious of her affectations, artificiality and selfishness from the moment almost when, as an undergraduate, he set eyes on her. It seems more important to him to show that he was never deceived than to admit that he became disillusioned. He does also convey Mariette's considerable attractiveness and charm, but what is curious is the extent to which his description of her is external and finds no point of rest where the reader can see her simply as a human being requiring not admiration or approval but sympathy. His treatment of the episode of his first marriage differs strikingly from that of John Hilton – his school and undergraduate friend – who writes an appendix describing Louis at school and Oxford giving the impression that Mariette was very much in love, something which MacNeice scarcely takes into account.

The truth of the matter is, I suppose, that MacNeice's seeming coldness disguised reticence and pride. As he admits, he had cast for himself the role of Stephen Daedalus already at school, and the symbol of the ashplant stick remained with him until long after he left Oxford, when it was abandoned for the more communal gestures of the thirties. That he was Protestant Irish, that his mother died when he was at an extremely early age, that later his father remarried, that at school he quickly made a success of being a buffoon and making the other boys laugh by exaggerating his more grotesque qualities, and – most of all – that he always identified knowledge with power, all these things are significant.

The brilliant opaque surface which he exhibited in his behavior remains though a problem for the reader in his work. It is not only that one tries vainly much of the time to penetrate the center of MacNeice's own sensibility, one also finds oneself trying vainly to get at the center of people and experiences he describes. In the autobiography he tends to see people as bundles of qualities of which they are made, as mirror-like and brittle as his own brilliance. He excels at describing stretches of behavior of friends, acquaintances, landscapes, cities. But everything seems as though painted on a moving band. He observes people through those unflickering half-closed eyes which never blink, but he never seems to ask what it is that makes them tick.

The result of this is a peculiar kind of negativism. In portraying his own attitudes – his liking for the Heraclitean philosophy, his irreligion, his distrust of politics, his personal relationships, he presents us with paintings on the moving band as brilliant as those of his wife or of a mistress. But while he is painting them he seems conscious

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that the attitudes will soon be replaced by others.

More than of anything else he is aware of flux, and his two longest poems, *Autumn Journal* and *Autumn Sequel*, are both journals written from day to day, without his knowing, when he wrote one section, what would come after. It seems very extraordinary that he should have chosen to write *Autumn Sequel* in *terza rima*, the form which, ever since Dante, poets have used when they wished to draw conclusions, and the one perhaps least suited to poetic journalizing. The earlier poem *Autumn Journal* consists of brilliant technical improvizations, with much variety to suit changes of mood, and for that reason alone seems the greater success. Perhaps MacNeice chose the form of *Autumn Sequel* as an act of defiance, throwing down the gauntlet at Dante. In a way, for mastery of rhyme and metrics it is a dazzling technical success, if you can – as poets did in the 19th century – separate technical achievement from the suitability of the form to the material.

But in the 20th century poets have made a mystique almost of thinking that the material should create the form, rather than the form be a frame into which the material is put. And in his strengths as well as his weaknesses, MacNeice belongs more to the 19th than to the 20th century. His attitude to writing poetry, which is to put skill before everything, to be inclusive in his attitude to technique and to material, and never to ask himself the question of a poem, "Is this too long?" is Victorian, and still more so the general spectacle he presents of the mind trained in Christianity, the classics and philosophy, using this training as a skeptical discipline for questioning the religion, the learning, and the philosophy, without ever expecting to find the answer.

It is difficult then to fit MacNeice into a modern poetry course. Modern poets have made form inseparable from content, and above all they seek conclusions, some structure of philosophy or belief on which to base their poetry. Yet MacNeice cannot be relegated to the 19th century either. He had qualities of temperament, and he had the mastery, to carry forward into the 20th

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century some of the attitudes of the 19th. If his content does not always justify the expansiveness of the form, the buoyancy and gaiety of his temperament does. To be convinced that MacNeice has something to say which his medium carries, one has to read section XXIII of *Autumn Journal*, which is about the end of the Spanish Republic, or the parts of *Autumn Sequel* about Gwilym (Dylan Thomas). Ultimately he is a poet of temperament, of gaiety and melancholy cultivated by wit, taste and learning, and held together by courage, the virtue he most admired. One of his most ambitious, not altogether successful poems, is *The Kingdom*, an attempt to chart, with many examples:

"an underground movement,
Under the crust of bureaucracy,
quite behind the posters,
Unconsciously but palpably there –
the Kingdom of individuals."

It is about people who recognize in one another, behind the mask, the real person, and as such it is moving, encouraging, coming from this very lonely man, the poetry of shared life, but not of terrible solitude. Terrible solitude when it does occur is death, and perhaps MacNeice's best poems are the ones he wrote at the end of his life when he had an intuition of this approaching conclusion.

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I know nothing of the circumstances surrounding Herbert Blau's resignation from the Lincoln Center Repertory Company, but it is a melancholy decision for which we all bear some measure of responsibility. Blau's tenure with the company was far from distinguished; it is hard to think of a single play produced by him at the Vivian Beaumont that stimulated any real excitement, expectation, or sense of adventure. But given the quality of the man himself and of his past work, we must surely look to other causes than artistic inadequacy for some clue to his failure.

One fact is clear: Something vital was drained from the Actors Workshop company after their movement East. In San Francisco, these actors constituted a healthy, organic unit, proudly indifferent to audience pressures, developing each play for the sake of the next, so that a production of *Waiting for Godot*, for example, might be preparation for a new approach to *King Lear*. In New York, these same actors grew heavy-limbed and leaden-hearted, while the productions looked like a sequence of disconnected blunders, each being mounted as if everything depended on the individual success. Such a radical change can be largely attributed, I think, to the new conditions in which this young company was operating. The existence of a Lincoln Center Repertory Company implies the existence of an established American theatre, and this in turn suggests the existence of a rapprochement between two distinct kinds of theatregoers: those who wish to see a play and those who wish to be seen at one. Since this rapprochement is far from achieved (indeed may never be achieved), Blau and Irving were given the impossible task of unifying the disparate members of their audience during the very first season, and in trying to satisfy everybody, they succeeded in satisfying no one. The audiences began clamoring for hits. The critics – including myself – became impatient for results. And all the pressures usually surrounding commercial New York presentations were brought to bear on a situation that required relaxation, patience, and an opportunity for growth.

Even the physical theatre proved an obstacle to development. There is something seriously wrong with the spatial relationships at the Vivian Beaumont: a heavy curtain of air seems to divide the audience off from the actors. In order to penetrate this curtain, directors feel compelled to fill the stage with bustle and movement, designers are tempted to overproduce, and actors tend to stress their points more emphatically than necessary. John Hirsch's production of *Yerma*, which utilized the forefront of the stage, partly managed to overcome the sense of distance between the audience and the play, but most of the other productions made excessive use of machinery and concentrated primarily on external effects, with the result that a company – once noted for firmness of intelligence and simplicity of design – now seemed to be hiding artistic failings behind technology.

For a number of reasons, the eastward move of Blau and Irving was premature. Had they waited one more year, they might have functioned admirably in the recently opened Forum Theatre at Lincoln Center, since this smaller, more simplified stage would have freed them from existing economic and cultural handicaps, and released their bottled creative energies. Through the exercise of hindsight, one can now say that the Actors Workshop would never have been comfortable in the Vivian Beaumont Theatre – neither the company nor the audience really had anything to communicate to

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each other. There is not much to be hoped for from spectators who complain, as one did on television after the opening night of *Danton's Death*, "Everyone looked so beautiful and the gowns were so splendid – why do they want to depress us like that on the stage?" Given Blau's intelligence, it is hard to understand what kind of dialogue he expected to start with such theatregoers; it took a little arrogance to assume that an audience conditioned by *Hello Dolly* and *Barefoot in the Park* could be won over to the plays of Buechner, Sartre, and Wycherly, even if offered in good productions. But if Blau was guilty of hubris, he has certainly paid for it twice over through the dissolution of a creative partnership that had lasted more than ten years.

Thus, an institution presumably dedicated to fostering the theatre succeeded only in destroying one of the few genuine theatres in America, and this brings us to our moral: It is high time we stopped building culture centers before we have built a culture. Lincoln Center is now for all intents and purposes empty – and probably destined, for all intents and purposes, to remain empty, no matter what now tries to fill it. I have a vision of this building, along with all the other culture centers being built in the country, constituting a Stonehenge of the future, and visited only by scholars engaged in vain speculation on what their function could possibly have been. For our theatre will not spring to life, fully grown, in the middle of a building. If it is to be reborn, it must begin like an infant, taking its first tentative steps before a very few interested observers; and only the shape of its growth will determine the shape of the building that grows around it. The American habit of creating architecture and then looking around for something to fill it signifies that our cultural explosion is still largely a manifestation of real estate. But until our love of art is at least equal to our passion for bricks and mortar, centers like Lincoln Center will continue, like Saturn, to chew up their children.

Seeing *The Homecoming* again a year-and-a-half after its London production reinforces my respect for the British

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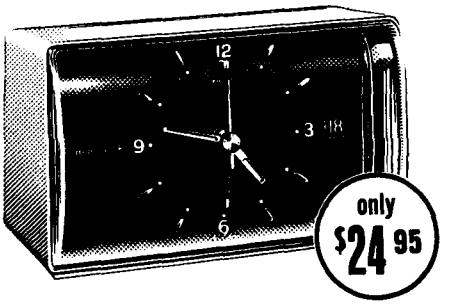

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repertory system: the performance is brilliant. The spare setting has been redesigned by John Bury for a larger theatre so that now the upstage staircase may ascend forever, and the grey flats (black in London) underline the greyness of the characters. Peter Hall's direction is full of fascinating secular rituals. At the beginning of the second act, for example, four men in the act of lighting their cigars break away from the central match as if they were the opening petals of a carnivorous flower. Paul Rogers, who last year seemed too pleasant under his nastiness, is now convincingly churlish; Ian Holm remains full of cruel lithe grace; and Vivien Merchant retains her blank, sphinx-like lethargy, though at the cost of some monotony.

I still don't like the play very much, though there is something in me that would like to join the crowd of theatregoers who have rallied to its support. I respect very much Pinter's efforts to extend his reach into the unexplored areas of human consciousness, and I recognize that *The Homecoming* is something of a new departure for him, but I still think the play tends to exploit the bizarre too much merely for its own sake. Pinter has the disturbing habit of establishing a convincing hypnotic atmosphere, only to break it with a strained stage effect, a *coup de théâtre*, or an incompatible motivation. In *The Caretaker*, Aston's description of his sojourn in a mental institution rationalizes behavior that should have remained remote and inchoate, while in *The Homecoming*, a nicely formulated study of grotesque horror is compromised by a melodramatic conclusion in which everyone starts having coronaries all over the stage.

I won't attempt to interpret the work, since I don't think it is open to interpretation, but I do want to mention the interesting way in which Pinter brings to the surface the deepest sexual obsessions of family life. The wife of one son, a professor in an American university, becomes for his father, a butcher, and for his brothers, a pimp and a prizefighter, an object to be exploited erotically and economically, as a replacement for a dead mother (also described, by turns, as a saint and a whore). What all this means can be more easily experienced than explained – as the wife says, inadvertently describing Pinter's method, "Perhaps the fact that my lips move is more significant than the words that pass through them" – for like Antonioni, Pinter conveys a sense of the bleakness and coldness on our planet by violating conventional cause - and - effect patterns, and making verbal intercourse an obstacle rather than an aid to communication. All of this is highly suggestive, even important, but Pinter has not yet allowed himself to abandon a vaguely vulgar streak of theatricality or perfected the artistry necessary to support his explorations. ROBERT BRUSTEIN

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Correspondence

The New Republic welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.

Nehru Memorial Museum

Sirs:

The Nehru Memorial Museum & Library, New Delhi, is collecting letters, photographs and other documentary material relating to the life and work of Jawaharlal Nehru. In the course of his long, rich and crowded public career, first as a leader of the national movement, then as the Prime Minister of India, he travelled extensively and met and corresponded with large numbers of individuals. It is important that a full record of his activities be collected, carefully preserved and in due time made available for research to scholars.

The associates, friends and admirers of the late Prime Minister are requested to help in this collection by donating his letters, photographs and other documentary materials, such as press clippings, films, etc., to the Nehru Memorial Museum & Library. Copies of the documents will be supplied for personal record to those donors who wish to have them. The originals will be returned to those who wish to keep them after copies have been made for the Nehru Memorial Museum & Library.

The material can be sent to Mr. Aqil Ahmed, Press Attaché, Embassy of India, 2107 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008 for onward transmission to the Museum.

B. K. Nehru
Indian Ambassador
Washington, D.C.

Segregated Housing

Sirs:

Congratulations on the publication of the recent thoughtful and provocative article by Piven and Cloward on segregation in housing, Dec. 17. Let me enter one caveat and one suggestion.

It seems likely that properly rehousing growing and already over-

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crowded minority groups will require substantial reductions in density, and hence on two counts, greatly expanded areas of minority occupancy. This will be especially true if the improvement in housing is sought through the rehabilitation and deconversion of existing structures, and I do not believe that large-scale new construction at Manhattan densities is either feasible or desirable. An expansion of occupancy implies that the issues of "invasion," if not those of desegregation, cannot be indefinitely postponed. Any wider distribution of minority groups also suggests that their transportation problems will become increasingly acute. These large-scale issues of metropolitan development will have to be faced in any event.

It seems likely to me that the improvement of housing conditions for the poor and the enhancement of minority power and self-organization might in certain cases be facilitated by a well-conceived program fostering home ownership. Such a program would necessarily operate in multi-family structures on a condominium or cooperative basis. Federally and locally sponsored programs would be designed to facilitate acquisition and management, to provide low-cost, long-term financing, and to reduce costs through code enforcement prior to purchase. On this basis, home ownership might become attractive to very low-income groups, and even to welfare clients, with appropriate legal and administrative adjustments. An important part of the program should provide for mobility and for a transfer of the owners' equity to different locations and to improved housing.

Britton Harris
Professor of City and Regional Planning
University of Pennsylvania

China and Vietnam

Sirs:

It has been pointed out to me that in "China and Vietnam" (*NR*, October 29, 1966) I gave the wrong date for a speech of Mr. Rusk. It was in 1951, when he was Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs – not in 1961 – that Mr. Rusk said the Peking government "is not the government of China. It does not pass the first test. It is not Chinese." I am sorry for the error.

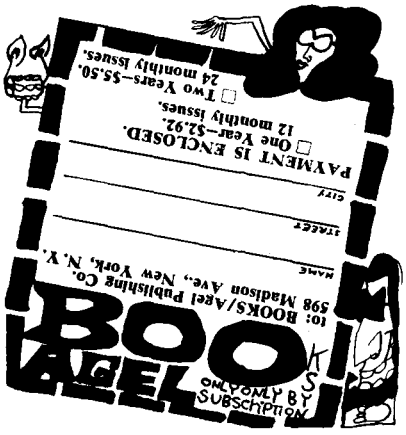
Ross Terrill
Harvard University

Medical Experiments

Sirs:

I was pleased to see, and greatly disturbed by Dr. Alderman's article "Medical Experiments on Humans" (December 3). A few years ago the New York Civil Liberties Union undertook a study of one aspect of this problem, namely whether a patient in a public hospital who is experimented upon without his knowledge and consent has been deprived of his constitutional rights. The NYCLU has not taken a position on this matter as yet, but has not abandoned its inquiry.

What Dr. Alderman does not mention is that *all* scientific experimentation which is done without the full knowing consent of the patient, and for the benefit of the patient, probably constitutes malpractice. Those doctors and institutions who are responsible for harming the patient, or perhaps even for failing to attempt to benefit the particular patient may be personally liable for damages. By law a doctor's authority extends only to selecting and administering to the willing patient the treatment which, in the opinion of the medical community offers a reasonable chance of improving the condition of the patient. Even approved treatment cannot be given (save in life or death emergencies and a few special instances) unless the patient has personally consented, having first been fully informed of the nature of the treatment, the possible risks, and the hoped for benefits. Close legal questions may arise when a doctor, in good faith, tries an unorthodox procedure on, for instance, a patient dying of a disease for which there is no known treatment. But there is no close question when a psychologist, seeking to test a new schizophrenia drug, takes twenty-four patients and administers the drug to twelve of them, while giving either another drug or a placebo to the others – all without any of the patients being told a word. In that case consent is lacking, the treatment is not designed to benefit the particular patient, and it is not an ap-



By JEROME AGEL, editor-publisher

While reviewers are praising for the umpteenth time the diary of a Swiss private and the history of glass design, BOOKS THE MONTHLY NEWSPAPER is reporting what's really happening, Homer. Overground. Underground. Long before anyone else, usually. (We were two months ahead of everyone else on the Clutter-Hickcock-Smith photos and Mrs. Kennedy's desire.) News, thrusts, layouts available absolutely nowhere else. Monthly psychodrama highlights: Did Samuel Johnson know Boswell was making notes? Plans to blow up the world. America's concentration camps. Boise's homosexual scandals. The social barometer. Yevtushenko's view of America. Marshall McLuhan: "Art is anything you can get away with." Mod literature. Writes Newsweek: "BOOKS has a talent for first-rate scoops." Writes James Purdy: "How can you last? Isn't America beautiful enough without you?" *Only by subscription.* (Not on newsstands.) If you want to be included, send us the coupon today. It'll be an interesting year. BOOKS/Agel Publishing Co., 598 Madison Ave., NYC 10022. One year: $2.92. Two years: $5.50.

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proved treatment for the ailment. It is completely outside the law.

No one questions the good faith of most researchers (though their judgment and insensitivity may sometimes be appalling). Nor can anyone deny the good which the new drugs and medical knowledge have conferred upon us. But even apart from the obvious risks to the patient is the basic question whether any person who is in a public institution should be experimented upon without his consent, for the possible benefit of others. Our conceptions of personal freedom would seem to rule it out. So does the entire body of existing law. . . . Here is surely an area worthy of a major study, under public or private auspices.

Ivan Shapiro
New York, N.Y.

Indispensable

Sirs:

May I compliment you on your book reviews? It is remarkable that one issue of a magazine should contain such superlative articles as Stanley Kauffmann's *James Joyce* and Joseph Featherstone's survey of Barrington Moore's *Social Origins of Dictatorship. The New Republic* is making itself indispensable.

Will Durant
Los Angeles, California

Kauffmann, *from page 26*

cept the human and civil senses – of their teachers. The fact that there are instances (too many) where teachers and administrators are deficient does not change the fundamental relation. For the Non-Young to obfuscate this relation in blurry support of every student protest is a form of adult delinquency.

In politics the Young Generation tends to be revolutionary, compassionate, idealistic, and amorphous in ideology. Again I level no criticism at them. But I view with distaste as well as alarm the Non-Young who accept the generational test of political validity. (If it's Young, it's good or potentially good; if it's Non-Young it's corrupt or blind or passé.) I question those who accept the Young's accusation that all political ideology and philosophy have failed because the world is still perceptibly imperfect, those who encourage a belief that compassionate nihilism is the most likely source of progress, that the ideological dropout is the political ideal. From the current turbulence among many of the Young, from their humane concerns, much good can come; but can it come without some kind of dynamic tension with political thought? And how can this tension be better provided than by the experience (unstuffily applied) of the Non-Young?

In the arts the situation is even sillier. The "Tradition of the New" has deteriorated, perhaps inevitably, into the Tradition of the Young. There is a prevalent fever to be up – or in – on the latest thing, which is often the youngest thing. In films, in dance, in literature, in the theatre, one sees a desperation among critics to attract the Young. The favor of the Young is the great criterion; failure to please them is, in itself, proof of sterility or stodginess or reaction. And the state of the arts being what it is these days, this attitude among critics is not only a determinant of success among artists, it is often a guide to the kind of art that artists attempt. Again: I am not arguing – here, at any rate – about the intrinsics of the art or aesthetics of the Young. I am questioning the eagerness of the Non-Young to adore them.

Self-evidently the Young are the future (ask the advertisers). But to repeat, there is also a present, and one way to betray the future is to betray the present.

There is a particularly loathsome disc jockey – nationally known, I'm afraid – who calls himself Murray the K. On television, where he can sometimes be seen, he seems to be about 40. He wears mod clothes, talks hip, tells the swingers "what's happening," plays rock and roll, and in general strains every nerve in an effort not to be thought old by the Young. Of course he makes a fat living by pandering to them, and most of the people I have been discussing have no such financial motive. Still, in the past few years, more than one social commentator or art critic has reminded me of Murray the K.

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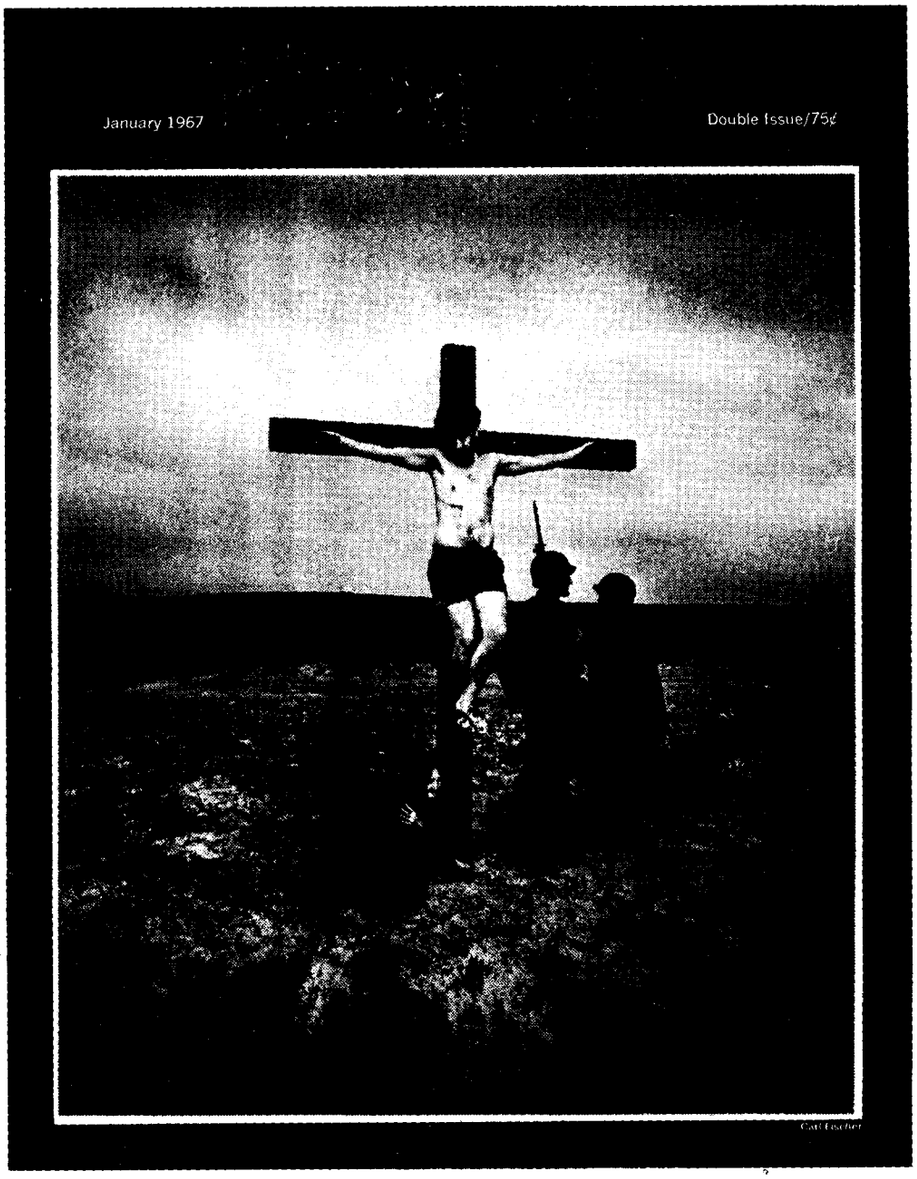

"*Ramparts* magazine greeted the New Year with a straight left jab to the public jaw."—*Time* magazine

This extraordinary issue of *Ramparts* was attacked last week by both *Time* magazine and the Department of Defense. Small wonder.

It was the fourth such anti-*Ramparts* outburst from *Time* in almost as many months. The point is, *Ramparts* has again shaken up the public conscience with a 24-page special report on "The Children of Vietnam" in the January Double Issue. This report, introduced by Dr. Benjamin Spock, includes 16 pages of chilling color photography, chronicling the most inhuman side of the war. "*A million children have been killed, wounded or burned in the war America is carrying on in Vietnam,*" says William Pepper in *Ramparts.*

Also in this Double Issue: "The Case for Three Assassins," a special supplement on the murder of President Kennedy; the first inside look at the Minutemen's nationwide network of organizations; a report on LBJ and the oil lobby; and the story of the latest of the heresy trials, entitled "Bishop Pike's Not for Burning."

Next month watch for Robert Scheer on Robert Kennedy; a frightening look at our "Defense Intellectuals"; the homosexual "tyranny" over our culture; the press in Saigon, and more.

Subscribe now: all cash orders will receive the January Double Issue (*now on newsstands*) as a bonus.

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